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Methodist Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1876.

Art. I.—AFRICA.

Livingstone's Last Journals. Harpers, 1875.
Baker's Ismaïlia. Harpers, 1875.
Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa. Harpers, 1874.

In reading Livingstone's last book and comparing it with his two former works, "Missionary Researches," and the "Expedition to the Zambezi," one is struck with the tone of sadness that pervades the later volume. Its spirit is autumnal. The great discoverer of Lake Ngami, the Victoria Falls, Lakes Nyassa, Moero, Bangweolo and Kamolondo treads bravely on to the last, despite sickness, poverty, and African ignorance and perversity, "The first," says Waller, "to set foot on the shores of vast inland seas, and with the simple appliances of his bodily stature for a sounding pole, and his stalwart stride for a measuring tape, to lay down new rivers by the hundred," yet the cheerful elasticity of earlier years is gone, expended in toil and destroyed by disease in part: ingraved, in part, no doubt, with the partner of his youth and earlier missionary labors on the banks of the Shupanga. All through these "Last Journals," the reader discerns the veteran traveler's dominant passion, "to work while the day lasts," feeling that the afternoon shadows are lengthening, and that coming night sends forward its monitory chills. His latest anniversary prayers grow earnest, and finally agonizing:—

Jan. 1, 1871. O, Father, help me to finish this work to thy honor!
Jan. 1, 1872. May the Almighty help me to finish my work this year, for Christ's sake!

March 19, 1872. Birthday—Grant, O gracious Father, that ere this year is gone I may finish my task.

March 19, 1873. (Sixtieth and last birth-day.) Can I hope for ultimate success? So many obstacles have arisen! Let not Satan prevail over me, O my good Lord Jesus!*

Belief in the divineness of his mission was an ever present stimulus to exertion, a living guarantee of ultimate success. Though, from the time when he became a geographical explorer, he ceased to draw pay from the funds of the Society, dropped direct missionary labor and immediate connection with the London Board, Livingstone never ceased to be a missionary. After nine years of peaceful and successful Christian labors among the Bakwains (1843 to 1852) a treaty between the English and the Dutch Boers, left the missionaries out in the cold and the station of Kolobeng was broken up, the mission premises plundered, and the natives driven to the mountains or carried into slavery. It was then that Livingstone uttered those plucky words that give the key to his future course. "The Boers," said he, "resolved to shut up the interior, and I determined to open the country, and we shall see who have been most successful in resolution, they or I." †

Which would beat, Dutch or Scotch? The next twenty years would show. He traversed Africa, from Linyanti to St. Paul de Loando on the Atlantic coast, (1853–4,) and then tramped down the Zambezi to Kilimane, (1855–6,) eleven thousand miles, discovered Victoria Falls, grander in some respects than Niagara, never before seen by European eyes, but "scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight;" cut his initials on a tree, with the date, 1855, in the midst of their thunder and spray; the only instance in which he indulged in this piece of vanity. The expedition to the Zambezi, in 1858, was organized to explore its mouths and tributaries, with a view to their being used as highways for commerce and Christianity to pass into the vast interior of Africa. In 1866 the veteran traveler was at Zanzibar, setting out upon a tour of exploration from which he never returned.

In these twenty years of geographical research he never laid aside his missionary character or remitted his missionary

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," pp. 354, 405, 414, 497.

† "Travels and Researches," p. 45.

labors. The Christian Sabbath was always duly observed, and, to the last, a portion of the day was set apart for public prayers, reading the Scriptures, and instructing the natives or his camp followers. Jan. 12, 1869, he writes: "Short of food; obliged to travel on Sunday. We had prayers before starting, but I always feel that I am not doing right—it lessens the sense of obligation in the minds of my companions; but I have no choice."

One of the last entries in Livingstone's diary, one of those of which autograph fac-similes are given in the "Last Journals," "20th April, 1873," has the so-often-recurring "S," on which his editor remarks (p. 182) in a note: "In his journal the doctor writes 'S,' and occasionally 'service,' whenever a Sunday occurs;" and, at all times, during his travels "uses the services of the Church of England," though, on page 94, we find this characteristic note, (Sept. 16, 1866:) "The Prayer-book does not give ignorant persons any idea of an unseen Being addressed; it looks more like reading or speaking to the book. Kneeling and praying with the eyes shut is better than our usual way of holding divine service." Stanley's record is: "Each Sunday morning he [Livingstone] gathers his little flock around him, and reads prayers, and a chapter from the Bible, in a natural, unaffected, and sincere tone, and afterward delivers a short address in the Kisawahili language about the subject read to them, which is listened to with evident interest and attention."

It is this intense devotion to the moral and spiritual well being of the African, earnest belief in his susceptibility for instruction and elevation, and his ultimate conversion and regeneration, that weds Livingstone to the heart of the Christian world. Years ago he wrote: "I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise." He has opened the way, and his grateful countrymen, as one tribute to his memory, have raised fifty thousand pounds to found an industrial mission on Lake Nyassa, a region of which it is said in the "Zambezi," never before in Africa have we seen any thing like the dense population on the shores of Lake Nyassa. In the southern part there was "an almost unbroken chain of villages," "hundreds of men, women and children," "a wondering multitude," "a thicket of dark bodies."

It is his life testimony against slavery, his labors for its suppression, his exposure of its horrors in its native home, that interest philanthropists more than his scientific discoveries. In his letter to James Gordon Bennett, Jun., November, 1871, he says: "If my disclosures regarding the terrible Ujijian slavery should lead to the suppression of the East Coast slave-trade, I shall regard that as a greater matter by far than the discovery of all the Nile sources together." Slavery, called by Wesley, in 1772, the "execrable sum of all villainies," was named by Livingstone, a hundred years later, *the open sore of the world*, a phrase so felicitous that his countrymen immortalized it by engraving it on his tomb-stone in Westminster Abbey.

Old as the human race, and a vice peculiar to hot climates, barbarism, or low civilization, slavery received a new impetus at the discovery of America. The new continent had boundless land, but lacked laborers, and forthwith sprung up trade in muscles and sinews. Africans were deported to slaughter virgin forests, to test the capability of virgin soils, and to enrich both hemispheres with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and wines. It is due to the terrors of its harborless coast, the malaria of its mangrove swamps, its burning deserts, its dangerous beasts and reptiles, its impenetrable jungles, its wary tribes, prepared either for fight or flight, that Africa was not entirely depopulated to satisfy the greed of Christian nations for slaves during the last four centuries.

For the last hundred years, since, by the burning words of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Wesley, the Christian conscience of England was aroused on the subject, (England was last to engage in the nefarious traffic and first out of it,) the wants and woes of the oppressed sons of Ham have fixed the attention of philanthropists steadily on Africa. Outlawed in England, abolished in the British possessions, made piracy on the high seas, expelled from the American continent, slavery, after having made the tour of the world, has been driven back to its original birthplace, the starting-point of the human race, where the corners of the three Eastern continents touch each other, where the Japhetic, Semitic, and Cushite races meet and mingle, the present possession of Turk and Moslem; there, pursued by the hostile sentiment of Buddhist and Christian,

slavery cowers to-day, feebly protected by Sultan and Khedive, who protest against it, in compliment to the sense of the age, while they foster it or wink at it in concession to the ignorance and barbarism of the mass of their own subjects, who are yet insensible to its vileness and atrocity. In its mature age this blood-thirsty, world-hunted wolf has taken refuge in the land that cradled its infancy. There, we may hope, it will be speedily strangled and die.

In "Zambezi" Livingstone complains of the duplicity of the feeble Portuguese government on the slave question, as Baker complains of the two-sidedness of the Egyptian officials on the same question. While the slave-trade is destroyed, and slavery professedly abolished, it is still carried on to a frightful extent in the negro countries of the interior. In 1869 Livingstone wrote of Ujiji:—

> This is a den of the worst kind of slave-traders; those whom I met in Urungu and Itawa were gentlemen slavers; the Ujiji slavers, like the Kilwa and Portuguese, are the vilest of the vile. It is not a trade, but a system of consecutive murders; they go to plunder and kidnap, and every trading trip is nothing but a foray.*

On July 15, 1871, the Arabs perpetrated a fiendish massacre of unoffending and unsuspecting natives, in Livingstone's presence, in the Manyuema country, by firing upon dense masses of men, women, and children in a crowded market-place, and killing, by shooting or drowning, three or four hundred persons. He says:—

> When endeavoring to give some account of the slave-trade of East Africa it was necessary to keep far within the truth, in order not to be thought guilty of exaggeration, (something Livingstone always abhorred;) but, in sober seriousness, the subject does not admit of exaggeration. To overdraw its evils is a simple impossibility. The sights I have seen, though common incidents of the traffic, are so nauseous, that I always strive to drive them from memory. In the case of most disagreeable recollections I can succeed, in time, in consigning them to oblivion; but the slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night, horrified by their vividness.†

The White Nile trade is, similarly, a trade of kidnapping and murder. In his "Albert Nyanza" Baker tells us how it

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 292. † Ibid., p. 442.

was done in 1861, and similar accounts may be found in all the books on Africa. A trading party makes its way into the interior, establishes intimacy with some negro chief, and forms an alliance to attack a hostile neighbor.

> Marching through the night, guided by their negro hosts, they bivouac within an hour's march of the unsuspecting village, doomed to an attack, about half an hour before the break of day. Quietly surrounding the sleeping village, they fire the grass huts in all directions, and pour vollies of musketry through the flaming thatch. Panic-stricken, the unfortunate victims rush from their burning dwellings, the men are shot down like pheasants in a battue, while the women and children are kidnapped and secured, the herds of cattle are driven away, and the human victims, lashed together, form a living chain, while a general plunder of the premises ensues.

In January, 1863, he arrives at Gondokoro, and writes thus respecting it in the "Albert Nyanza:"—

> Gondokoro was a perfect hell. It is utterly ignored by the Egyptian authorities, although well known to be a colony of cut-throats. The camps were full of slaves, and the Bari natives assured me that there were large depots of slaves in the interior, that would be marched for shipment to Gondokoro.

The German traveler Schweinfurth, a botanist and draughtsman of eminent ability, to further the ends of science and discovery put himself in charge of these Nile slavers, lived in their zareebas or seribas, (fortified trading posts,) traveled in their escort, and witnessed their proceedings. In his two volumes he treats of slavery and slave-traders in dozens of places and has nothing good to say of either. In the hold of a Nile boat of fifty tons, "two hundred slaves are packed away." "The traders of Darfoor and Kordofan are as coarse, unprincipled, and villainous a set as imagination can conceive." Slaves die of starvation, are loaded with a heavy wooden yoke fastened to the neck, are belabored, even in a dying state, with the cruelest lashes. At the beginning of the century Mungo Park estimated that the slaves bore the proportion to the free of three to one of the population in Africa. Schweinfurth says, "Taken one with another, every Nubian possesses about three slaves," and he thinks the computation not too large that places the total number of private slaves in the country at between fifty and sixty thousand. There are boy-slaves, soldier-slaves, female household, and male farm drudges. The

slave-trade on the Nile suppressed by Baker was "quite insignificant compared with the overland traffic;" the great source of the slave-trade is to be "found in the negro countries to the south of Darfoor." "The Egyptian government itself was the first to teach its subjects to kidnap slaves:" "it is the fashion of good society in Egypt to have a house full of slaves:" "the traveler in these lands is kept in a constant state of irritation by what he sees; on every road he meets long troops of slaves; on the sea and round the coasts he comes in contact with Arab boats crammed full of the same miserable creatures." Dr. Schweinfurth suggest plans for suppressing the slave-trade, but is hopeless of reform or amelioration "until the slave-trade is not only held in check at its sources, but also stopped at its outlets." This, he thinks, can only be effected by foreign interference, placing the negro countries that suffer most from the slave-trade under the protection of European governments by founding States expressly for their defense. The reigning Khedive is willing to suppress slavery, but is powerless to do it in the face of interest, fashion, and the indolence bred by a hot climate and the indifferentism of the Mohammedan religion. Dr. Schweinfurth's chapter on slavery* is worthy of attentive perusal.

The author of "Ismaïlia," Sir Samuel W. Baker, the owner of a dozen honorary titles, is a Ceylon elephant hunter transformed into an African explorer and philanthropist. In 1861 he entered upon the "exploration of the Nile tributaries of Abyssinia." His first great discovery was that the "Atbara was the parent of Egypt." Dry through a greater portion of the year, in the rainy season it filled its banks to overflowing, and "mud rushed in torrents down countless water-courses," hurrying away to form the fertile soil of Egypt. Baker's first year in Africa was one of apprenticeship, and the account of it is a pleasant record of hunting exploits, adventures with antelopes, buffaloes, crocodiles, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, giraffes, lions, and elephants. A more serious undertaking was his trip from Khartoum to Gondokoro, (December, 1862, to February, 1863,) where, in the middle of February, he met Speke and Grant, "ragged, care-worn specimens of African travel," who had successfully traversed the whole distance from Zanzibar to

* "Heart of Africa," vol. ii, pp. 410–442.

the lake sources of the White Nile. On March 14, 1864, he made his grand discovery of Lake Albert Nyanza, and on his return to England published, in 1866, an interesting volume with the name of the new lake for a title. In it he says:—

> What curse lies so heavily upon Africa? . . . it is the infernal traffic in slaves. Nothing would be easier than to suppress this infamous traffic were the European powers in earnest. Every European government *knows* that the slave-trade is carried on to an immense extent in Upper Egypt, and that the Red Sea is the great Slave Lake by which these unfortunate creatures are transported to Arabia and Suez. . . . All idea of commerce, improvement, and the advancement of the African race, must be discarded until the traffic in slaves shall have ceased to exist.

But Baker's greatest work is chronicled in the "Ismaïlia," a narrative of the expedition to Central Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, organized by Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, a marvel every way: first, that an Egyptian ruler should attempt to abolish slavery at all in the face of the inveterate prejudices fostered by the custom of his race and state for immemorial ages, extending away back to the time, or rather far beyond the time, when Hebrew Joseph was sold into Egyptian slavery; and, secondly, that the Khedive, a Moslem, should intrust the work to a Christian, and endow him with ample means and unlimited power, even of life and death, over those under his command. This was "carrying the war into Africa" in earnest. While British cruisers had been obliged to confine their operations to the outside coast, here was a determined blow struck at the very heart of the evil, the central mart of the traffic. Schweinfurth, to be sure, intimates that but little was accomplished either by Baker or the viceroy. "Satisfied with having, in the eyes of the world at large, made a clean sweep of the upper waters of the Nile, Sir Samuel and his supporters did not perceive, or could not remedy, what was going on on either side of the great river highway." Probably the overland slave-trade along the roads of Kordofan had never been so flourishing as in the winter of 1870–71, just after Baker had commenced scouring the Upper Nile, and, by capturing all slave vessels, left no doubt of the earnestness of his purpose.* To our mind, the moral effect of Baker's outfit and expedition

* "Heart of Africa," vol. ii, pp. 410, 411.

was greater than the actual results. It was much even to have "scotched the snake."

Baker had the organizing genius of a Colbert, the energy of a Cromwell, the executive ability (on a small scale) of a Bonaparte, and the ready mother-wit of a Ben. Butler. His employments were as various as his resources were endless. He "bags" elephants, hippopotami, and crocodiles; stalks gazelles; fishes in all waters; tans hides; makes a ferry-boat of his bath-tub, or extemporizes an impromptu raft from bundles of dry grass; fights boa constrictors; makes arrow-root; heads off deserters; tells us how to make a horse to swim a river; boils soap, and preserves flesh, fat, and bread for a journey. It is something of a misfortune that he is the hero of his own epic. He is not offensively egotistical, but his book might have had for a motto Cesar's celebrated dispatch, read not according to the "new-fangled" continental pronunciation, but after the Old and New England style of vocalizing Latin, and written with a visible *ego*, thus: "*ven-I, vid-I, vic-I.*" On page 18 he says:—

> It is impossible to know the actual number of slaves taken from Central Africa annually, but I should imagine that at least fifty thousand are, positively, either captured and held in the various zareebas (or camps,) or are sent *via* the White Nile and the various routes overland by Darfur and Kordofan.

Armed with a firman from the good intentioned Khedive, Baker had built in England four steam vessels for navigating the inland seas of Africa, transported them in sections, with immense labor and pains, as far as he could find the means of transport, "hundreds of miles across the Nubian desert, and by boats and camels, alternately, from Alexandria to Gondokoro, a distance of three thousand miles." While he was about it, with the prudent foresight of a commander, who knows that "out of sight out of mind," he laid in every thing that could be deemed necessary to secure the success of the expedition: "steam saw-mills," "galvanized iron magazines," "Manchester cotton and woolen goods," "tools of all sorts," so that "the magazines could produce any thing, from a needle to a crow-bar, from a handkerchief to a boat sail." Six steamers were to ascend the Nile to Khartoum, fourteen hundred and fifty

miles," with fifteen sloops and fifteen Nile boats, or thirty-six vessels, to convey his merchandise; three steamers and twenty-five vessels were to carry his troops; his whole river force to be nine steamers and fifty-five sailing vessels, a flotilla as formidable as that which rode the Mississippi during the rebellion. For military he was to have troops, cavalry, and artillery. The first division of heavy baggage started August 29, 1869, but his instructions were neglected, and his plans thwarted. His unpopular expedition was opposed openly, or secretly undermined by all parties. "It was a house divided against itself. The Khedive would issue orders in the north that would be neutralized by his own authorities in the south." *

There were some ridiculous sides to the matter. Baker is a humorist, and never fails to show up the mirth-provoking. The cavalry promised him would have rivaled Falstaff's infantry; "two hundred and fifty riders" mounted on "lank, half-starved horses; round, short horses, horses that were all legs; others that were all heads;" the accouterments and riders were of a piece with the steeds. Baker dismissed the whole squad with equivocal compliments.

When he was ready to sail from Khartoum, there was a general stampede of boatmen to avoid being impressed into the hated expedition. The Egyptians, by delays, thwarted plans that they could not destroy by open force. The grass barriers—vegetation filling and clogging the Nile, changing the face of a running stream into an interminable swamp—were a fearful hinderance to his progress up the river. "The greater portion of his Egyptian regiment was composed of felons convicted of offenses in Cairo, 'ticket-of-leave' men transported to the White Nile. The first suspicious vessel he overhauled was 'innocent' looking enough, but yielded when searched a hundred and fifty slaves, 'a mass of black humanity,' boys, girls, and women, closely packed like herrings in a barrel." To furnish employment for his men, while advance was impossible, he put thirty acres of the river bank under cultivation, and at once had a practical illustration of the beauties of African farming, worse than western grasshoppers. Guinea-fowl did terrible damage, small birds of the sparrow tribe

* "Ismailia," p. 28.

infested the newly-sown land in clouds; worse than these were vast armies of great ants; the large, crimson-headed goose of the White Nile flocked in great numbers to the new farm, while mole-crickets attacked the crops in formidable numbers."

Arrived at Gondokoro in the spring of 1871, he recommences gardening, and vents a philanthropic suggestion: "I believe that a taste for gardening has a most civilizing influence among savages; and if I were a missionary I should commence with such practical teaching, thus proving, in joint labor with the natives, the principle that industry and peace will create prosperity."* At Gondokoro, as at Khartoum, the expedition to destroy slavery was suspected, thwarted, and silently resisted, both by resident slavers and their allies, the native tribes. The policy of these allies was to starve Baker's troops into the necessity of evacuating the place and returning to Khartoum. In May, 1871, Baker and his force went through with the ceremony (we are half disposed to call it farce) of officially annexing Gondokoro to the dominions of the Khedive of Egypt, and changing the name of the place from Gondokoro to Ismaïlia, in compliment to his patron prince.

The German, Schweinfurth, who recommends European interference to stop African slave-trading, objects to this being undertaken single-handed by the feeble Khedive of Egypt, himself a dependent upon a higher power. In volume second he says:—

> The conquest of Darfur by the Egyptians would be a great step in advance, but I most emphatically protest against Ismail Pasha being allowed to send Turkish troops into the heathen negro countries. The kindest thing the enlightened ruler of Egypt can do for these lands is to let them alone. . . . Any assistance to be expected from the Khedive, under the circumstances, is quite a delusion. It is commonly supposed that the ruler of Egypt is a despot of the purest water; this, however, is a great mistake. . . . He is no more than a viceroy; the high-sounding Persian title of Khedive, which he assumes is, in reality, no more than a title.†

Relief must come to the suffering negro from some more efficient quarter. The Christian-moslem general's most efficient helpers were his body-guard, which early in the march

* "Ismaïlia," p. 129. † "Heart of Africa," pp. 442, 441.

of the expedition he christened "the forty thieves," a band which became the "nucleus of military morality," for the virtuous "forty" would neither steal, nor sully their ranks by admitting a thief. In connection with this compliment to the honesty of his vagabonds, Baker volunteers another of those philanthropic plans, with which his books are sprinkled, for missionizing heathen Africa. His theory is, that civilization precedes Christianity, and hence any thing to convert idle savages into decent men, except preaching the Gospel. Just now he would civilize by giving them a taste for agriculture, now he would send them to military schools. He says:—

> I believe, that if it were possible to convert the greater portion of African savages into disciplined soldiers, it would be the most rapid stride toward their future civilization. A savage who has led a wild and uncontrolled life must first learn to obey authority before any great improvement can be effected.*

A more peaceful and agreeable style of taming barbarians, and one better adapted to influencing Africans, is suggested, namely, the use of music:—

> The music of our band, produced by bugles, drums, and cymbals, aided by a military bass-drum, might not have been thought first-rate in Europe, but in Africa it was irresistible. The natives are passionately fond of music. I believe the safest way to travel in these wild countries would be to play the cornet without ceasing, which would insure a safe passage. A London-organ grinder would march through Central Africa followed by an admiring and enthusiastic crowd, who, if his tunes were lively, would form a dancing escort of most untiring material. . . . A man who, in full highland dress, could at any time collect an audience by playing a lively air with the bagpipes, would be regarded with great veneration by the natives, and would be listened to when an archbishop by his side would be totally disregarded. He should set all psalms to lively tunes, and the natives would learn to sing them immediately. Devotional exercises should be chiefly musical.†

This hint should not be lost on future missionaries. An African's religion finds vent at his heels, as well as through his vocal organs.

"At sunset all Africa dances." Songs and dances form no

* "Ismailia," p 165. † Ibid., pp. 231, 488.

inconsiderable part of the worship at a Southern colored camp-meeting. If we were constructing a ritual for the race we should certainly include this Shaker element, and give a place to the "poetry of motion," as well as to the poetry of speech and song. The king of the Monbutte, Munza, who now idolatrously dances before wives and courtiers, when he becomes a Christian should be instructed to "dance before the Lord with all his might," and the wandering minstrels of the land should be taught to sing the "songs of the Lord" in place of profane and ribald verse.

Baker's declaration of annexation was followed by war with the Bari, natives of the country; by disaffection in the ranks of the invaders, who, from inveterate habit, could not understand a style of warfare that did not include burning villages, plundering the country, killing of the males, and enslaving the women and children for the personal profit of the marauders. The Arab slavers also banded against the government troops and offered resistance. Abou Saood was one of those slave factors to whom the Egyptian Government had leased a portion of negro territory for plunder, over which it had no more jurisdiction than it had over the lands of the Khan of Tartary. Baker represents him as a vicious, villainous, intriguing scoundrel. He was evidently a great thorn in the pasha-general's side.

On his return to Cairo, August, 1873, the tourist conqueror complained personally to the Khedive of the conduct of this man, and filed a formidable bill of charges which he was not permitted to prosecute. The melancholy "finis" to Ismaïlia is, "after my departure from Egypt, Abou Saood was released and appointed assistant to my successor," (Col. Gordon.) The king slaver of the White Nile, instead of being punished, was rewarded. Perhaps he has become as virtuous as one of Baker's "forty," and is now the scourge of slave hunters. Thieves, when enlisted in government service, make the best of detectives. Abou Saood may turn out an Egyptian Vidocq. Meanwhile Egypt revels, in slaves and Arab slavers devastate inner Africa. When shall the end come?

In a review of the moral and religious needs of Africa we are only secondarily interested in the solution of geographical problems. The Nile sources still elude discovery. Stanley

and Livingstone found the Rusizi, contrary to former supposition, flowing *into* the northern end of Lake Tanganyika; yet Baker, in the appendix to Ismaïlia, still clings tenaciously to the idea that "there must be a channel," undiscovered by Stanley and Livingstone, "which connects Tanganyika with the Albert Nyanza." The Lualaba of Livingstone, he thinks, (with Dr. Beke,) cannot be included in the Nile basin. Schweinfurth discovered a large river, the Uielle, or Wielle, flowing from east to west, which completely cuts off the basin of the Nile. Speke has not a doubt that "old Father Nile rises in the Victoria Nyanza." Stanley criticises Speke, and says, "never was such a costly expedition so barren of results, as this of Speke and Grant." They did not even get the latitude of Ripon Falls! Baker lays Speke's lake under contribution, and says positively, "the Victoria and Albert lakes are the two sources of the Nile." Burton's lake, the Tanganyika, as well as Speke's, must run through Baker's! With all this parade of assertion, we are not satisfied. The Pasha of Egypt it was, we think, who said that every traveler, from Herodotus down, had his own private sources of the Nile. Livingstone is more modest. On May 30, 1872, he says:—

> In reference to this Nile source I have been kept in perpetual doubt and perplexity. I know too much to be positive. The Lualaba may turn out to be the Congo, and Nile a shorter river after all. The fountains flowing north and south seem in favor of its being the Nile. Great westing is in favor of the Congo. It would be comfortable to be positive like Baker! How soothing to be positive!*

The mystery of the Nile, dark now, will some day be cleared up. Providence does not vouchsafe to any one man, or any single generation, the solution of all its problems. Livingstone did a noble share, and died regretting that he could not do more. We share his pangs, when, at the utmost verge of western exploration, with, apparently, only a hundred miles more between him and the solution of the problem of the ages, he was compelled, through the obstinacy of his men and the conduct of the wretched Arab slavers, to turn back to Ujiji from the very threshold of success. Why could he not have held on his way westward till he reached the Congo, and found be-

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 428.

tween Tanganyika and the Atlantic those "teeming millions" Stanley dreams of, "who never saw or heard of the white people, who make such a noisy and busy stir outside of Africa." It was not so to be. Something must be left for others to achieve. He did his proportion. It is mournful to hear him say, "If I could only have gone one month farther, I could have said, 'the work is done.'" He discovered so much that discovery became commonplace to him. Other travelers are immortalized by a single success. Park, by two visits to the Niger; Barth, by a trip to Timbuctoo and Lake Tchad; Burton, by the discovery of Tanganyika; Speke, by seeing the two ends of the Victoria Nyanza; and Baker, by touching the northern end of the Albert Nyanza. Says Stanley:—

> Suppose Livingstone, following the custom of the travelers, had hurried to the coast after he had discovered Lake Bangweolo to tell the news to the geographical world; then returned to discover Moero; and now away again, then come back once more to discover Kamolondo, and then race back again; had he followed the example of ordinary explorers he would have been racing backward and forward to tell the news instead of exploring. He might have been able to write a volume on the discovery of each lake, and earned much money thereby.

Horace Waller, editor of the "Last Journals," says:—

> On the 18th of July, 1868, Dr. Livingstone discovered one of the largest of the Central African lakes. It is extraordinary to notice the total absence of all pride and enthusiasm, as, almost parenthetically, he records the fact. Livingstone's Journal reads thus:—"*July* 17. Reached the chief village of Mapuni, near the north bank of Bangweolo. On the 18th I walked a little way out, and saw the shores of the lake for the first time, thankful that I had come safely hither."—P. 250.

Less than five years later, the undaunted and devout traveler was to breathe his last on the southern shores of this same Bangweolo, and his remains, in charge of his faithful African attendants, Wainwright, Chuma, and Susi, were to make the circuit of this noble sheet in their route to the distant coast and still more distant final resting-place.

Of small account are Livingstone's numerous discoveries to us if they have simply awakened curiosity respecting the geography of Inner Africa. The social condition of its numberless tribes, their moral character, their religious and educational

improvability, their position in the scale of humanity, the possibilities of their being civilized and made useful members of the great world-family, are problems of the highest interest, worthy of earnest contemplation and devout study. The difficulties in the way of African regeneration are numerous and appalling: the child-character of the negro intellect, the absence of central government, the multiplicity of tribes, the mutual jealousies of the tribes, drunkenness, demonology, cannibalism, polygamy, all these, and scores of other formidable hinderances, exist in the way of African improvement. Transient visitors to the continent, scientists like Schweinfurth, fancy tourists like Reade, bilious philosophers like Burton, amateur philanthropists like Baker, sportsmen like Cumming and Baldwin, either give the negro up in despair, or propose impracticable plans for his education. Now and then Livingstone vents his impatience with the whole tribe of Negro abusers and speculative civilizers. In a letter to "The New York Herald" he says:—

> The irritability produced by disease made me pig-headed. The same cause operates with modern travelers, so that they are unable to say a civil word about the natives. Savages seldom deceive you, if put upon their honor; yet men turn up the whites of their eyes, as if deception showed an anomalous character in the African. Modern travelers affect a tone of moral superiority that is nauseous.

Schweinfurth is almost the only traveler in Africa that was fever-proof. Burton, Speke, Stanley, and even Livingstone himself at times, were terribly handled by the inevitable malaria that slaughters so many Europeans.

It is a pet notion with certain semi-skeptical travelers and writers that Mohammedanism is to do great things for Africa, though Barth, Baker, and Livingstone deemed its influence baleful in the extreme. Burton and Reade affect to believe that the blacks are to be civilized through Mohammedanism. An intelligent Arab assured Livingstone that "no attempt was ever made by Mohammedans to proselyte the Africans," whereupon the author of the "Last Journals" remarks:—

> As the Arabs in East Africa never feel themselves called on to propagate the doctrines of Islam among the heathen Africans, the statement of Captain Burton, that they would make better mis-

sionaries to the Africans than Christians, because they would not insist on the abandonment of polygamy, possesses the same force as if he had said, Mohammedans would catch more birds than Christians because they would put salt on their tails.—P. 224.

The Arabs are doing nothing, and will do nothing, for the regeneration of Africa. Their presence there is a blight and a curse to the continent. It is about as true of them as of their masters, that "where the Turk's foot comes no grass will ever grow," and much of this is due to Islamism. Schweinfurth and Livingstone both rejoiced to get into purely heathen negro countries, and so did Park and Barth. The inland, uncorrupted natives were confiding, unsuspicious, child-like, hospitable according to their means, honest, peaceable, easily amused, delighted with simple presents, readily satisfied and eager to trade, and, like all unsophisticated tribes, easily imposed on. The Arabs, as they penetrate the interior, put an end to all this. Fire-arms were superior to spears and bows and arrows, and the *rôle* which the devilish white has mercilessly enacted among the Indians of the Western Continent and among all the tribes of the Islands of the Seas has been enacted in Inner Africa. The natives are cheated, debauched, made drunken, slaughtered with fire-arms, enslaved, plundered, driven to the mountains, scattered, peeled, and destroyed.

In the wake of this baleful tide of ruin comes Christianity. Superadded to native superstitions are innumerable imported vices. The task of Christianity is a hard one. Its agents are Caucasians, and so are the authors of the foulest and most flagrant wrongs inflicted on the world's dark races. In China, the missionary cannot be distinguished by the natives by any difference in speech, clothing, color of countenance, or eyes, or hair, from the merchant or sailor who debauches the native women, and forced the rulers to legalize the trade in the deadly Indian drug, opium. The native African flies from the white missionary, as he would from the white slaver, after he has experienced the deadliness of the friendship of the Arab trader. Nowhere in the world can the missionary have access to the races in their primitive simplicity. The very ship that carries him to foreign shores is a pocket edition of all the deviltry practiced in the refined and civilized regions that sway the world's commerce, and, ten to one, the infection spread from that ship

will be such that the labors of ten missionaries will not be able to eradicate it in twenty years. Every book on Africa speaks of the destructive power of Arab-moslem rule. The sole virtue modern Moslems manifest is respect for Europeans. In the days of Park and Bruce and Burckhardt a Christian entered Mohammedan countries at the risk of his life. Bonaparte's raid on Egypt was one of the first demolishing blows dealt on the barrier of sectarian exclusiveness. French occupation in North Africa, the French and British alliance with Turkey against Russia, the building of the Suez Canal, the influx of traders and tourists, the education of Mohammedan youth in Christian countries, and the employment of foreigners as engineers, architects, and military officers, together with the general spirit of the age, induced by community of interest, and knowledge through telegraphs, steamers, and railroads, have leveled every impediment to intercourse, and given the Moslems a high idea of Christian prowess, learning, and inventiveness. The visits of pashas to European courts have strengthened the impression and widened the catholicity, and it is due to this feeling that the Khedive of Egypt is, through an impetuous Baker and a cooler Gordon, cautiously working out the problem of African emancipation.

Whether European diplomacy, the direct interference of Christian governments, in accordance with the suggestions of Baker and Schweinfurth, would promote their work, is a question for time and experiment to settle. Slavery in Egypt is an ulcer more incurable than those which impeded poor Livingstone's progress in Manyuema. It is a cancer that has seated itself in the very vitals of the body politic, the social system of the oldest State in the world. It is not to be eradicated in a day. The Sultan of Zanzibar has lately visited Europe, and we may hope that this interchange of courtesies, and the consequent increase of knowledge, influence, and good feeling, may induce this potentate, after the measure of his ability, to put an end to the abuses that exist between Bagamoio and Lake Tanganyika, and that ere long a highway for legitimate trade may be opened up in the track of Speke and Grant, and that Nile tourists, instead of stopping at the cataracts, may brave the heats of the torrid zone and extend their pleasure trips to Gondokoro. (We beg Colonel Baker's pardon,

we should have said "Ismaïlia," though we do not see how it honors this feebly conservative ruler that such a harbor for cut-throats should wear the name of his vice-royal highness.) Thence they may steam to Murchison Falls, cross over to Ripon Falls, navigate the two Nyanzas and Tanganyika, and make the acquaintance of Ujiji, and so on to Unyanyembi and Zanzibar.

The more important practical question is, if merchants, scientists, tourists, and explorers can manifest so much zeal for Africa, can stand its annoyances, live in its heats, and brave its malarias, why not missionaries? The question is already answered in isolated instances. Southern Africa is the best missioned of any portion of the globe. It has less than two millions of inhabitants, but it is under British protection, part of it under British colonial rule, all of it safe from conflict or trouble with Boers, natives, Portuguese, or Arabs. The Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April, 1874, says:—

> The importance of these regions is not to be estimated by the number of their inhabitants, but by their character and ability. The European races naturalized in South Africa, and the natives brought under Christian and civilizing influences through Christian missions and the restraining power of colonial law, are the agents to which we look for the future civilization and Christianization of all Africa as far as Abyssinia. The European and native races are to be the future civilizers of half the African continent, and this conviction is the only excuse which can be made for the large number of European missionaries sent by the various Churches to South Africa, a number altogether disproportionate to the ordinary claims of so small a population, especially considering the crying necessities of China and India. But the Churches in South Africa must be considered as the spiritual nurseries for Africa generally. In the climate of South Africa, so remarkably favorable to European health, missionaries and teachers are training up races which will, we trust, in due time be the civilizers of the continent.—Pp. 666, 667.

The same Report discusses the prospects of Western Africa:—

> In West Africa the obstacles peculiar to the country which impede the progress of Christianity are serious, and will require years of patient labor to overcome. The climate is, to say the least, very unfavorable to the health of Europeans, and the neglect of sanitary measures has largely increased the injurious influence of the climate; hence the difficulty of carrying on plans of mis-

sionary labor, especially educational efforts, amid the interruptions occasioned by the sickness or death of European laborers; this difficulty will lessen as suitable agents are raised up from among the natives. Beyond the narrow boundary of the English settlements and the Gambia, Christianity is confronted by semi-barbarous tribes, who, professedly Mohammedan, have for some hundred years past dominated over the negro races, and are especially opposed to Christianity. A recent governor of Sierra Leone imagined that this varnish of Mohammedanism was due to the missionary zeal of Mohammedan priests in our day, whereas it has been the growth of six or seven hundred years. No effort has been made to grapple with the corrupt Mohammedanism of these races, but missionaries are hoping that political or other changes may open up a way from the coast to the mountains and elevated table-lands of the interior, in which the climate is known to be favorable to the health of Europeans.—Pp. 82–84.

Of Ripon Falls, Speke says, "What a splendid place for missionaries! They could not starve, the land is so rich, and if they introduced farming they might have hundreds of pupils." At Lake Nyassa the Livingstones, in the Zambesi, say:—

From the number of aged persons we saw in the highlands, and the increase of the mental and physical vigor we experienced on our ascent from the lowlands, we inferred that the climate was salubrious, and that our countrymen might there enjoy good health, and also be of signal service by teaching the multitude of industrious inhabitants to cultivate cotton, sugar, and other valuable products to exchange for goods of European manufacture, at the same time teaching them by precept and example the great truths of our holy religion.

Gushing Stanley, in "How I Found Livingstone," says:—

Who wishes to civilize Africa? Four days by steamer bring the missionary to the healthy uplands of Africa, where he can live among the gentle Wasagara without fear or alarm; where he can enjoy the luxuries of civilized life without fear of being deprived of them, amid the most beautiful and picturesque scenes a poetic fancy could imagine. Here is the greenest verdure, purest water; here are valleys teeming with grain stalks, forests of tamarind, mimosa, gum-copal trees; here is the gigantic myule, the stately mparamusi, the beautiful palm—a scene such as only a tropical sky covers. Health and abundance of food are assured to the missionary; gentle people are ready to welcome him. Except civilized society, nothing that the soul of man can desire is lacking to him! From the village Kadetamare a score of admirable mission sites are available, with fine, health-giving breezes blowing over them, water in abundance at their feet, fertility unsurpassed around them, with docile, good-tempered people dwelling every-where at

peace with each other and all travelers and neighbors. The passes of Mukondokwa may admit the Gospel and its beneficent influences into the heart of savage Africa.—P. 234.

In the "Last Journals" Livingstone has heard that some one was building a house at Bagamoio, over against Zanzibar. Is it a sanitarium?

Possibly the erection of a huge establishment on the main land may be a way of laboriously proving that it is more healthy than the island. It will take a long time to prove by stone and lime that the higher lands, two hundred miles inland, are better still for longevity and work.—P. 334.

His editor, Rev. Horace Waller, adds in a note:—

Dr. Livingstone never ceased to impress upon Europeans the utter necessity of living on the high table-lands of the interior, rather than on the sea-board or the banks of the great arterial rivers. Men may escape death in an unhealthy place, but the system is enfeebled and energy reduced to the lowest ebb. Under such circumstances life becomes a misery, and important results can hardly be looked for when one's vitality is pre-occupied in wrestling with the unhealthiness of the situation day and night.

Chaillu reached the "Fans and their mountains," and says:—

The climate is, of course, much healthier than it is on the rivers near the coast, and the people in consequence are more robust and energetic. It is a most promising country for the labor and settlement of white men at some time, or of civilized blacks.*

In the Appendix to Ismaïlia Baker says:—

My opinion has been frequently asked on the subject of missionary labor, and many have endeavored to persuade me that a rapid change and improvement of the natives may be effected by such an agency. I cannot resist by argument such fervent hopes, but if good and capable men are determined to make the attempt they may now be assured of peace and security at Gondokoro, where they will have the advantage of the good name left by the excellent but unfortunate members of the late Austrian mission. —P. 496.

This Romish mission in the heart of Africa had a sickly life, barren results, and a tragic end. "Out of twenty missionaries [it is Speke that writes] who during the last thirteen years (1863)

* "Equatorial Africa," p. 130.

had ascended the White Nile for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, thirteen had died of fever, two of dysentery, and two had retired in broken health, yet not one convert had been made." The missionaries had no occasion to complain of the blacks, who would have been kindly inclined to the Europeans if the traders of the White Nile had not brought the devil among them. Time was when they brought food for sale; but now they turn their backs upon all foreigners, and even abuse the missionaries for having been the precursors of such dire calamities. Want of employment was the chief operative cause in killing the poor missionaries; for with no other resource left them to kill time, they spent their days in "eating, drinking, smoking, and sleeping, till they broke down their constitution by living too fast."* Perhaps, on the whole, Africa will be none the worse off for the loss of these loose-living celibates.

From the books of travelers several things are evident. One is, that there are spots in Africa where the Caucasian missionary can live and labor. Where are they? Another is, that some constitutions stand the climate better than others. Which are they? Important questions for missionary societies to consider and settle: Can Africans live better than whites in Africa? What are the future hopes of Africa through her children, who through slavery have been acclimated and naturalized in America?

Livingstone's editor says:—

> We may venture a word in passing on the subject of native recruits enlisted for service in Africa, and who return thither after a long absence. All the Nassick boys were native-born Africans, yet we see one of them succumb immediately. The truth is, that natives under these circumstances are just as liable to the effects of malaria on landing as Europeans, although it is not often that fever assumes a dangerous form in such cases. The natives of the interior have the greatest dread of the illnesses which they say are sure to be in store for them if they visit the coast.†

There are constitutions, like Schweinfurth's, that are fever-proof; there are others that acclimate after a period of trial; there are others to whom the climate is deadly from the begin-

* Speke, pp. 544, 545.

† "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 57.

ning. To Park's second expedition the malarial fever was terribly destructive. Barth's two companions died, Baldwin's fellow-sportsmen were cut off; a tragic fate overtook the expedition of the heroic Miss Tinné, a Dutch lady, who penetrated to Gondokoro, and there lost her mother, physician, and several attendants by the terrible fever. Bishop Mackenzie's mission on the Shire was broken up by disease and deaths; all are more or less sick, some survive, many die. Stanley's white servants both died; Burton and Speke were fearfully invalided, and Stanley "regarded the wormwood and fever tone of Captain Burton's book as the result of African disease." In his "Coomassie" Stanley asks, "What is the element which produces so much sickness among Europeans in Africa?" and discusses the question as to the presence or absence of ozone in the atmosphere:—

> In a town on the coast where statistics are kept, records prove that within eight years the deaths numbered 1,649, while the births were only 812, so that the deaths exceeded the births by 837. These people, with the poor marines who went into action in the Ashantee war 105 strong, and returned aboard ship only 25 in number, may well say with some of us who have come to the Gold Coast, "we do not live, we die."

On the other hand many live. Sir Samuel Baker and Mrs. Sir Samuel spent nine years in Africa; the Presbyterian missionary, Wilson, was eighteen years on the West Coast; Krapf about as long on the East Coast; Livingstone was thirty years in the country, and his father-in-law, Dr. Moffat, forty-five years among the heathen tribes. In the Methodist mission at Liberia the early missionaries died rapidly, but Miss Wilkins and Rev. John Seys withstood the climate for years.

The Christian world seems to be waiting the developments of physical geography before making missionary ventures in the lake regions of Central Africa. Lieutenant Cameron, Colonel Long, Colonel Gordon, and others, will soon have stories to tell of points settled and discoveries perfected. Stanley is, at this writing, as deeply buried in Africa as Livingstone was when Bennett commissioned his "Herald" reporter to go in search of the lost traveler.* Many things might be done for Africa, but the greatest possible is to put the Africans in position and disposition to help themselves. Their country is the

* Stanley has since circumnavigated Victoria Nyanza.

fertile garden of the world, reeking in its own richness, deadly with the malarial poisons arising from the festering masses of its own rotting vegetation. How shall its marshes be drained, its rivers and lakes be made navigable for steamers, its wastes and deserts tracked with rail-roads, its communities combined into central governments, its peoples rendered industrious and put in possession of peace, freedom from oppression, and the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labors? When shall the African elephant and zebra be tamed, and rendered, like their congeners in other lands, useful beasts of burden? When shall the mowing machine level the tall grasses, the steam plow turn up the endless prairies, and the locomotive whistle be heard along the Nile to Khartoum, Gondokoro, or the lake regions? Shall the elephants be exterminated in the mad pursuit for ivory, as the whales have been driven from the seas, or shall some substitute be found for the beautiful material? or, better, shall herds of elephants be tamed, domesticated, and finally slaughtered for their hides, flesh, and tusks, as Cincinnati rears and slaughters swine to fill up the demands of civilization? When shall slavery and intestine war disappear, when shall temperance prevail, when shall men learn some better employment than idling, hunting, fishing, and war, and woman be emancipated and elevated to her true social position? When shall Africa exchange her savage lays for genuine music, learn oratory and fitting architecture and the comforts of civilized life? Is she ever to learn these, or is the negro, according to the theories of some, like the American Indian, a transition race, commissioned to keep the soil and roam the forests with the wild beasts during a given period, and then to pass away and give place to races who can develope the capabilities of the country? Is it to be done by whites, or by their own descendants, or by Asiatics? When India and China are evangelized, missionaries may sail from these countries to undo the work of Moslems and Arabs. What part is the Church that sustains this "Quarterly Review" to have in this work? For forty years, at considerable expense, the Methodist Episcopal Church has sustained mission work in Africa. It is, however, mostly in English and among the colonists; very little has been done for the natives in the interior. Stanley, in his "Coomassie," says:—

We steamed by Liberia's low wooded shores without the chance to observe how the sable republic flourishes by a personal view of things. Report speaks evilly of her—of her pride and her vanity, of the disinclination of her children to work, and their pretensions to high-sounding titles and high places. Those on board the "Benin," who have stopped at Liberia, say that mostly every other man is styled "Honorable;" that the people are fonder of standing in groups in the streets to discuss politics than of bringing the produce of the rich back country into the market for sale, which, if true, is very disheartening.—P. 9.

Statistics may show more favorable than the second-hand reports of a newspaper reporter, but our missionary reports speak from year to year in a very discouraged and discouraging tone with regard to this mission in Africa. The Liberia Conference, at its session in 1874, says in a strain of yearning appeal:—

The universal cry of Liberia is, "Back to the interior!" back from the briny waves of the boisterous Atlantic to the peaceful, salubrious, and more inviting everglades and mountain fastnesses of the far interior. . . . Men of means cry to us from beyond the Atlantic waves, "Back to the interior!" . . . The Liberia Annual Conference stands ready and anxious, awaiting the advance of the mother Church in America to qualify her for this aggressive interior move . . . the most interesting portion of the work in connection with this conference is our native work, the work among the aborigines of the country. . . . We long for the time when the mother Church, through the Missionary Board, will, with a will, enter into missionary operations in Liberia as in days of yore. . . . We have stations among the heathen occupied by strong men, but they and their work are feebly sustained.

Is it not time that the great Methodist Episcopal Church struck out for a new site, a new lead, something to create new enthusiasm, in the heart of Africa? Southern Africa is well manned; western Africa has had its share of our beneficence for forty years; might we not kindle the zeal of our ministers, members, and youth over some new enterprise in the lake region, some elevated and healthy position, where life and labor, and not disease and death, would be the rule? Women can live and labor in Africa. Mrs. Livingstone accompanied her husband from the Cape to Lake Ngami, a thousand miles inland; Mrs. Baker braved the Nile to the Albert Nyanza, over two thousand miles from the Mediterranean and civilization.

One of the most effective of the many choruses used by the union soldiers in the late rebellion was that which canonized the brave American who struck the first blow for the liberation of the blacks:—

> "John Brown's body lies moldering in the ground
> His SOUL goes marching on."

Livingstone would have coveted a grave on the banks of the Bangweolo. He lies among England's great in Westminster Abbey, with a motto commemorating his abhorrence of the curse of Africa for thirty centuries. In the amelioration of the condition of the sons of Ham in both hemispheres, in philanthropic efforts and future missionary plans, HIS soul also goes marching on.

ART. II.—THE PROPÆDEUTIC OFFICE OF THE ETHNIC RELIGIONS,

AND THEIR COMPARATIVE VALUE IN THE DIVINE EDUCATION OF HUMANITY.

"The law was our school-master to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."—ST. PAUL.

"One article of our faith, then, is possible, that Christ is the first begotten of God, and we have already proved him to be the very Logos (or universal Reason) of which mankind are all partakers; and therefore those who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you as Atheists; such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus."—JUSTIN MARTYR.

"God is the cause of all that is good: only of some good gifts he is the primary cause, as of the Old and New Testaments; of others the secondary, as of (Greek) philosophy. But even philosophy may have been given primarily by him to the Greeks, before the Lord had called the Greeks also. For that philosophy, like a a school-master, had guided the Greeks also...toward Christ."—CLEMENT, of Alexandria.

THERE are two words in the passage quoted from St. Paul, at the head of this article, which are employed by the writer in a peculiar sense. That we may fully apprehend the great principle here enounced, we shall find it needful to fix the precise meaning of these terms. The first of them is *law*, the second is *justification*.

In attempting, therefore, to ascertain the exact sense in which

these words are employed by Paul, and to apprehend the specific idea which he designs to convey, we must be guided, neither by etymological principles, nor by classic usage, but by the consensus and use of Scripture alone.

The sacred writers must be allowed the indisputable right to this privilege of authorship, namely, they may create new terms in which to express new ideas, or they may employ old terms in a new sense, and infuse into them a new conception, provided this is clearly indicated by the connection, or else exhibited by a paraphrase; and in seeking to interpret their thought, we are bound to explain their terms according to their own peculiar usage. First, of the word *law*. The Greek νόμος, like the English correlative, law, is a generic term. In its most comprehensive sense it denotes that which is fixed, determined, settled, either by an inherent, subjective nature, or by an external objective power. As that which is fixed, determined, settled, it becomes a norm or rule for either voluntary or involuntary action.

The word is most commonly used in Scripture to express a definite rule of conduct, prescribed and fixed by a competent authority—that is, it is the expression and embodiment of the *supreme reason* enforced by *power*. This generic conception runs through all, or nearly all, the subordinate, and accommodated, and even figurative uses of the term "law" in the sacred writings.

In many passages "the law" means the ecclesiastical and ceremonial law of the Old Testament economy. But even here the fundamental idea is retained. The ceremonial law was a rule prescribed by a competent authority for the government of religious worship, determining its modes and rites.

In other passages it denotes the Decalogue or ten commandments delivered to Moses. This is called, by pre-eminence, "the law," because it is the appointed rule of moral, that is, of voluntary conduct, which determines or settles what ought to be our behavior toward God, and our conduct toward our fellow-men. Again, in other passages, it designates Divine revelation in general—the whole revealed mind of God, whether it relates to faith or to action, the conduct of the understanding or the conduct of life. In all these subordinate uses of the term "law" there is involved the fundamental con-

ception of a norm or rule for the government of conduct, imposed by a competent authority.

In the writings of the Apostle Paul we recognize that this term is largely extended in its scope, and assumes a more abstract character. Νόμος, when used by him, especially without the article, embraces all powers and principles which influence the will, and determine the conduct of man, either by the impulses of an inward disposition or the constraint of external motives, whether their behests be or be not expressed in definite form. These powers or principles are, in the last analysis, resolvable into the *ideas of the supreme reason.* Thus it is that we meet in his writings the frequent antithesis between "works of law" (ἔργα νόμου)—works done under the constraint of outward formal rules—and "works of faith"—that is, works performed freely under the internal influence of faith. Accordingly we find in his epistles such correlated forms of expression as "the law of faith," (Rom. iii, 27;) "the law of my mind"—νὸυς, or reason, (vii, 23;) "the law of the Spirit of life," (Rom. viii, 2,) to denote an internal principle, or disposition moving men to action, in contradistinction to an outward prescribed, formal rule; "the law of works," (Rom. iii, 27.)

A still more remarkable use of the word "law" is found in Rom. vii, 23, where the power of sin over the will of man arising from a corrupt disposition is called "the law of sin."

Law, then, in the Pauline conception, denotes any *ideas, sentiments, principles* inherent in the nature of man which determine his conduct. When discussing the relation of the heathen nations to the moral government of God, he declares that "though they have not been favored with an oral, a word-revelation of the will of God," they are "a law unto themselves;" that is, they are taught by a subjective nature—by their own reason and conscience, as by an inward law, what they ought to do. And this inward law, written upon their hearts, corresponds to the teaching of the outward law written on tables of stone, because both were written by the finger of God.

I think, therefore, we shall not be doing any violence to the doctrine of Scripture if we understand the word *law*, in its most comprehensive sense, as embracing the law of conscience as well as the law of Moses. Indeed, I think we shall not err if

we regard the law as the teaching of the human conscience in general—the voice of the immanent God speaking to all human hearts, whether as distinctly articulated by the mouth of Moses and the prophets, or by the less specially illuminated teachers of the heathen world—those "prophets of the human conscience" who in the distant Orient—in Persia and China and India, in Greece and Rome and Alexandria and Arabia—proclaimed those moral principles whereby men found themselves allowed, forbidden, or excused in their dealings with their fellow-men and in their behavior toward God.* This interpretation is justified by the connection of the passage. "For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law"—that is, if man could have been delivered from sin, and lifted up into spiritual power, and freedom, and purity, by an inherent law of conscience, or any inspired moral rules, no other agency would have been appointed,—"righteousness would have been wrought out by law." But so far from this being the case, "the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." Wherefore before the Gospel was published we (both Jews and Gentiles) were kept in durance under law—shut up to this only way of deliverance, to make us embrace the faith which should afterward be revealed. So that "the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."

The second term to be explained is *justification*, (δικαιοσύνη,) or, as it is used in the passage in the verb form, *justified*, (δικαιωθῶμεν.)

This is one of the most significant words in the New Testament—the central word, so to speak, of the Christian system of doctrine—the word, in fact, which expresses the whole of Christianity. Christianity is called "the righteousness of God." "I am not ashamed," says Paul, "of the Gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes, for therein is the *righteousness of God* revealed;" that is, the Gospel is the revelation of God's method of *justifying* sinful men through faith. Or, to amplify the statement, the Gospel is God's method of making a sinful man actually righteous

* Merivale's "Conversion of the Roman Empire."

through the power of faith. For, as it is scarcely necessary to remark, it is one and the same Greek word which in our English New Testament is translated *justification* and *righteousness.*

I am not unmindful of the fact that in Wesleyan theology we have been taught to render the Greek δικαιοσύνη exclusively by the word "forgiveness." Justification, we say, is "the pardon of sin." And here, I think, we are wrong. Justification—righteousness—is a generic term, embracing several specific terms, as pardon, adoption, and regeneration or sanctification.

Of course, to *justify* means to forgive sin, but it means more than this. It means to be "made free from sin," and to be constituted inherently and actually righteous. This is unmistakably the sense in which the term is used in Rom. vi, 6, 7: "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the *body of sin might be destroyed*, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is *freed from sin;*" literally, "is *justified from sin.*" So also in Rev. xxii, 11: "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still:" literally, "he that is *justified*, or *made just*, let him be just still."

Many more passages might be given to show that the term justification is employed in so wide a sense as to embrace sanctification also. These are sufficient for our purpose. We claim that the *righteousness of God* (δικαιοσύνη γὰρ Θεοῦ, Rom. i, 17) expresses the whole economy—the whole method and process of human recovery or redemption; and that the phrase, *righteousness of faith*, (δικαιοσύνη εν πίστεως, Rom. v, 1–11,) comprehends the totality and unity of Christian consciousness, from its first dawning light in the soul to its complete fruition in the eternal day.

I now sum up what has been so far said in the following words:—

1. By the *righteousness of God*, I understand the whole scheme of Christianity on its Godward side. By the *righteousness of faith*, the whole development of Christianity on its historic and human side. In other words, I understand by these terms the *method*, the *means*, and the *experience* of redemption. This I call the *religion of grace.*

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2. By the *law* I understand all the forms of ethnic religion which have appeared in the world as the outgrowth of certain ideas and sentiments implanted in the human mind by God. These I call the *religions of nature, of reason and conscience.*

In so far as Judaism was a national religion, I include it under the latter; in so far as it bore within itself the seeds of a spiritual and universal kingdom of God, I include it under the former.

Now, in regard to all the forms of ethnic religion comprehended under the generic term *law*, I understand Paul to say that, in the providence of God, they all had a propædeutic office. "The *law* was a school-master to bring us to Christ." The force of the great principle, here enounced, is lost in the English word "school-master." The pedagogue (παιδαγωγὸς) was the person who led the child to school. He was not the teacher, but the faithful attendant, who brought the scholar to the master. "He was a domestic servant who accompanied the child to school, bearing his satchel, and guiding and urging his steps."

The law, whether as revealed in the conscience or the ten commandments, could not convey any spiritual life—any inward power and grace by which men could be saved from sin. Its office was to direct and urge the wandering steps of men, to awaken in their hearts the sense of sin, to shut them up to the need of a Redeemer from sin, and bring the race, as it were, into the presence of the great Master and Teacher, that it might learn of him the way of "salvation by faith."

The doctrine of Paul, therefore, is, that all the ages and dispensations of divine providence prior to the advent of Christianity—all the forms of civilization which preceded the Christian civilization—all the revelations of conscience anterior to the revelation of the New Testament—in a word, the *law*, in the fullest sense of that term, antecedent to the *Gospel*, was a preparation and a discipline for the reception of Christianity. This is the thesis we propose to discuss.

At the outset, then, it is best we should recognize the fact that the proposition we have thus formally announced must encounter strong opposition in the minds of unreflecting men in Christian communities. We have been so long accustomed to hear all the efforts of earnest thought to solve the

problem of the relation of the finite to the infinite denounced as "false philosophy;" and all the systems of ancient mythology and the forms of pagan worship ascribed to the invention of satanic mischief, that we are unprepared, and even reluctant, to allow them any place in the divine plan of history, and to regard them as, in any sense, a preparation and a discipline for the reception of Christianity. It has become, with most of us, a settled habit of thought, to regard a verbal revelation as God's only method of action upon the human soul—a "book-revelation" as the only mode in which he can communicate his will to man. A revelation through the symbolism of nature, through the ideas of the reason, in the voice of conscience, in the mysterious sentiments and instinctive yearnings of the human heart, is foreign to our modes of thought. A privileged minority of our race, a mere fraction of the teeming millions of humanity, has been regarded as under the care and direction of God. The family of Abraham—the Jewish nation—have been thoughtlessly specialized as the immediate favorites of Heaven. To these God was pleased to make himself known, and for four thousand years the rest of mankind were, in a great measure, abandoned by God, and left to perish. The outlying millions of our race, who have not been favored with an oral revelation, and to whom Christ has not been preached, have, (to use the vigorous words of Dr. Whedon,) "by a sort of geographical predestination, been excluded from the covenant mercy of God, and damned by whole islands and continents."

One might have hoped that a living Arminian theology would long ago have sloughed off this putrescent mass of dead Calvinism. But we have scented this malodorous plague-spot in many a Methodist sermon. Preachers have sought to inflame our missionary zeal by highly colored pictures of heathen nations trooping *en masse* into the yawning gulf, because they have not believed on a Christ of whom they had never heard—of whom it was just as impossible for them to have heard, as of the politics of the moon. This is but another face of that "horrible decree" which consigns infants to perdition, who have neither the capacity nor the opportunity to know and believe on Christ. Such sermons never aroused our missionary zeal. They provoke hard thoughts of God, and foster unbelief.

A moment's reflection ought to have convinced us that such conceptions are unworthy of that God "whose name is Love." They are utterly opposed to the teaching of that revelation which, by pre-eminence, we call "the word of God." Every revelation of God which was given to the favored race taught that he is "the Father of the families of all the earth," and that he is "not the God of the Jews only, but of the heathen (ἐθνῶν) also." "We are all his offspring." "His tender mercies are over all his works." He has compassion on all the sons of Adam. They are all the objects of his care, and the subjects of his providence. The origin, the history, and the destiny of every nation, has been ordered and controlled by him. "He has determined the time of each nation's existence, and fixed the geographical boundaries of their habitation, that they may seek after God, and feel after him, and really find him, who is not far from any one of us." Nowhere, and at no time, has the human soul been utterly abandoned by its Maker and Father. He has not for one moment forgotten, or ceased his action upon the human race. "God has set his heart on man, he visits him every morning, and tries him every moment." Even in heathen lands, the inspiration of God continually enlightens the *reason* of man; the eternal Word still speaks in the *conscience* of man; and the omnipresent Spirit still stirs the *heart* of man with desires and yearnings after a higher and nobler form of life. "The word of God," before he became incarnate, "was in the world, for it was made by him;" and in the ages before he taught the people in Judea, he was "the true Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," whether in heathen or in Hebrew lands. The mind of Confucius and of Zoroaster, of Pythagoras and of Anaxagoras, of Socrates and of Plato, of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, were visited and enlightened by the eternal Logos.* These men were raised up by God, and employed by divine providence as the lights and guides of heathen nations. He who

* "I read to-day," says Mr. Wesley, "part of the Meditations of Marcus Antonius (Aurelius.) What a strange emperor! and what a strange heathen! Giving thanks to God for all the good things he enjoyed! In particular, for his good inspirations, and for twice revealing to him in dreams things whereby he was cured of (otherwise) incurable diseases. I make no doubt but this is one of the *many* who 'shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob,' while the children of the kingdom—nominal Christians—are shut out."

called Cyrus, king of Persia, by name, and girded him for the work he assigned him, "though he knew it not," called these men to be "the prophets of conscience" in heathen lands. "The night of paganism had its stars to light it, and they (as said Clement of Alexandria and Origen) called to the morning star of Bethlehem."

The world, then, has not been left to itself; above all, it has not been abandoned to the government of the personal spirit of evil, commonly called the devil. The world is still God's world, for he made it, and still moves, vitalizes, and governs it. The evolution of the physical universe from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous has not been carried forward by the action of blind force, but by the immanent presence and immediate agency of God. And so the evolution of human history has not been an affair of accident or of chance, much less of pessimism, but of providence. God is in history as well as in nature. The comprehensive plan of divine providence sweeps over the history of all nations—it gathers into its movements all the systems of thought which have had a permanent vitality because they contained some elements of eternal truth, and it took up into itself all the forms of ethnic religion which were born of the sense of dependence, and the consciousness of relation to the Infinite. It made all these subservient to the final purpose of redemption, by awakening the consciousness of the want, and developing the desire, of *salvation*. So that all the moral truths known to the ancients were God's truth—that is, they proceeded from the same fountain-head of light as the "living oracles" we now call, *par excellence*, "the word of God." That fountain-head was the *eternal Word* "which was in the beginning with God," "which made the world," which in all ages had been "the light of men," and which, in the fullness of time, "was made flesh and dwelt among men." Christ was not only "the Hope of Israel," but, consciously or unconsciously, "the Desire of nations." The entire history of humanity gravitates around the grand idea of *redemption*. This, says Pressensé, is the pole-star which, even when unseen, holds together the moral system of the universe, and binds the past, the present, and the future of humanity, in one complete harmonious whole.

Therefore, as the same writer has well said, "Christianity

can only be properly studied in connection with all the forms of moral truth, and all the systems of religion which preceded it, and, in an important sense, prepared the way. To isolate it from the past would be to refuse to comprehend its nature." The student of Christian theology cannot afford to overlook the influence which oriental mysticism, Platonism, and Aristotelianism exerted on the theology of the patristic writers, the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, and is now exerting upon Christian thought. The very terminology of the Church symbols is drawn from these sources. And the history of Christianity can never be properly comprehended unless we take account of the surrounding conditions, and the inherent human forces through which it operated, and which it subordinates. As vitality subordinates the physical and chemical forces, as mind subordinates the vital forces, so Christianity subordinates the mental and the moral forces. The whole of God's action upon humanity in all the ages is, in fact, a part of the Christian scheme—a development—a progress toward a foreseen and predestinated goal. The advent of the new religion was not an abrupt event, a new commencement altogether unconnected with the past. It was, in fact, "the outcome" of the whole religious history of the world. It was the answer of heaven to the aspirations, and longings, and questionings of the human heart which gave birth to the philosophies and religions of the ancient world.

Religious truth has, therefore, like all other truths, had a progressive development. Redemption, like all the rest of God's action upon nature and humanity, has obeyed the emancipating law of progress. The revelation of God to man has been gradually unfolded, as have also the plan of his creation and the purposes of his providence. The favorite symbol of all God's action upon humanity is *light*—light shining upon the understanding of man, as the source of universal and necessary *ideas* which correlate the human with the divine reason; light shining upon the conscience of man as the source of all moral sentiments, holding man in everlasting bonds to the throne of God; light shining upon the heart of man, the source of those mysterious feelings of reverence, and awe, and fear, and wonder, of which worship is born. This light has been gradually unfolded. Revelation has had its twilight, its morning dawn, and its me-

ridian splendor. From the first streaks of light which appeared in the eastern sky—the conjectures and hints of oriental naturalism, onward to the clearer symbolism of Hellenic humanism, and the yet distinctive and more positive light of Platonism in the advancing west; from the first conception of God among the Hebrews as the creating God, (*Elohim*,) then as the covenant God, (*Jehovah*,) then as the redeeming God, and then as the universal Father; from the protovangelium of Eden to the glory of the finished Apocalypse, there is progressive development. The ages and dispensations which preceded the advent were ages of preparation, of education and discipline, not for the Jews alone, but for entire humanity. And in "the fullness of the *times*"—the maturity of the dispensations—"*God sent his Son.*"

And in so far as we are able to trace the work of preparation going forward through the ages, and to estimate the nature and value of the forces and agencies employed; so far as we are enabled to recognize "the manifold wisdom of God" in the varied resources and agencies which he has employed to carry forward "the eternal purpose" which he purposed to achieve in Christ, so far are we approaching a *philosophy of religion.*

For what is philosophy but the adequate explanation of phenomena through the rational insight of first principles—that is, ultimate causes and reasons. It is the effort to determine the relation that exists between the subjective necessities of thought, and the resemblances, co-existence, and succession of objective things. In a word, it is "the mutual determination of *à priori* and empirical elements." Philosophy must include science, but science does not necessarily include philosophy. Science is the reduction of individual phenomena to general conceptions, (classification,) and the investigation of these conceptions in their relations of co-existence, resemblance, and succession in order to discover laws, (induction.) Philosophy is the bringing of these generalizations of science into harmony with *à priori* rational ideas or first principles. Philosophy is therefore the summit or completion of science. Phenomena, isolated facts, are comparatively meaningless; but, fertilized and illuminated by rational ideas, they become intelligible, and are reduced to harmony through the *unity* of first principles. We conclude, therefore, that a *philosophy of religion* can

only be obtained by an accurate observation and systematic generalization of the religious phenomena of the world; by a study of the exterior and surrounding providential conditions under which the phenomena were developed; by carefully noting the history of that development; and by grasping the whole of the phenomena and conditions in their relation to fundamental principles—cause and reasons.

We must enter upon the study of the philosophy of religion (or, as it is sometimes designated, "the science of comparative religion") by seeking to form a clear and definite concept of religion—a concept which shall be at once comprehensive and fundamental.

When we ask the question, What is religion? we do not mean, what is the Christian religion, or the Jewish religion, or the Hindu religion, or the Mohammedan religion; but, What is that essential, changeless, permanent principle which is common to all the forms of religion that have appeared in the world?

In answer to this question, "What is religion?" I reply, Religion is a mode of thought, feeling, and action which has the *Divine* for its basis, object, and end.

This is the most generic conception. Specifically, we may say, 1. As a mode of *thought*, it is the effort of the human mind to conceive its relation to the Infinite, that is, "to know God." 2. As a mode of *feeling*, it is the consciousness of dependence on the Infinite, the feeling of reverence and of submission; in its highest form, it is confidence and love. 3. As a mode of *action*, it is a course of human conduct determined by these ideas and feelings. It is worship of, obedience to, and consecration of one's self to, God.

In a brief sentence, we may say, religion is true loyalty of soul to the Divine, whether revealed in the symbolism of nature, in the rational ideas and moral sentiments of the human mind, or in the facts of history.

This loyalty of soul to the Divine may exist in varied degrees, from the passive submission, the utter self-abnegation of the oriental mystic, to the active devotion and heroic suffering of the Christian martyr. It may be associated with ignorance, and misconception, and positive error in the mind of the polytheist, and it may co-exist with the highest abstractions of speculative

thought in the mind of the rational theist. It may live in the pagan as well as in the Christian heart. To bring all nations to "the obedience of faith," which is but another form of expression for "loyalty of soul to God," is the end of all God's providential action upon humanity throughout the ages; the ethnic systems of religion contributed in some measure toward this end; the Christian system will achieve this end perfectly.

Now, that among the heathen there has existed, in a greater or less degree, what Dr. Whedon has felicitously called "*the spirit of faith* and the *purpose of righteousness*," is recognized by the sacred writers. Melchizedek was no doubt a Canaanitish priest, as Balaam was a Midianitish prophet. Jethro was a Midianitish prince, (an Arab sheik,) and Rahab was a Canaanitish woman. The Syro-Phenician mother and the Roman centurion were heathens. And these are but samples of the number of those in every nation under heaven who, "fearing God and working righteousness," were "accepted of him." Surely the man must be blinded by prejudices which are a dishonor to his Christian faith, who can refuse to admit that Zoroaster and Confucius, Socrates and Plato, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, are among that number who "shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

Starting, then, with the fundamental conception of religion, that it is a mode of life determined by the recognition of a relation to, and a consciousness of dependence upon, a superior power, we proceed to observe that a religious nature and destination appertains to man as man, whether he has been raised to a full religious consciousness, or is simply considered as capable of being so raised.

In all ages man has revealed an instinctive tendency and a natural aptitude for religion, and has developed emotions which have always characterized him as a religious being. As Saisset has said, "The religious instinct, the instinct of the Divine, is primordial in man, anterior and superior to every religion and every philosophy, the aliment and the foundation of every religious belief and every philosophical speculation. This is common to all men, savage or civilized, ancient or modern, of the Mongolian or the Caucasian race."

Religious ideas and sentiments have prevailed among all

nations, and have exerted a powerful influence on the entire course of human history. Religious worship, addressed to a Supreme Being believed to control the destinies of men, has been coeval and co-extensive with the race. Plutarch wrote, eighteen centuries ago, and it holds equally true to-day, "If you go through all the world, you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but never without gods, without temples, without prayers, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices, used to obtain blessings and benefits, or to avert curses and calamities." Every nation has had its mythology, and each mythological system has simply been an effort of humanity to realize and embody in some visible form the relation in which it feels itself connected with an external, overshadowing, and all-controlling Power and Presence. The voice of all ancient and all modern history clearly attests that the religious principle is interwoven with the very essence and constitution of the human mind.

It would lead me too far from the central question under discussion were I to enter upon a proof of the position which I hold to be incontrovertible, that *monotheism is at the foundation of all pagan mythology.* Such is the general belief of the most distinguished mythologists. One of the best accredited mythologists of our time, Professor Grimm, of Berlin, writes as follows: "The monotheistic form appears to be the most ancient, and that out of which antiquity in its infancy formed polytheism. . . . All mythologies lead us to this conclusion." * And M. Adolphe Pictet, in his work on the "Origin of the Indo-Europeans," arrives at the following conclusion: "To sum up; primitive monotheism of a character more or less vague, gradually passing into a polytheism still simple; such appears to have been the religion of the ancient Aryans." †

Polytheism is a parasitic growth which has wound itself around the original stem of instinctive faith in a supernatural power and presence which pervades the universe. The myths are oral traditions, floating down from that dim twilight of poetic history which separates real history with its fixed chronology, from the unmeasured and unrecorded eternity—faint echoes from the mystic border-land which divides the natural

* "Deutsche Mythology," p. 64, 3d edition.

† "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," ii, p. 720. Quoted by Naville.

from the supernatural, and in which they seem to have been strangely commingled. They arose in that period of "the comparative childhood of humanity," when there was no abstraction, no analysis; when every thing was cognized in the concrete; when feeling, imagination, and wonder were predominant, and reason and reflection had not assumed the sway.

In all the myths there is a *theogonic* and a *cosmogonic* element. They tell of the generation of the celestial and aërial divinities—the subordinate agents and ministers of the divine government. They attempt the explanation of the genesis of the universe, the origin of humanity, the development of society, laws, and governments. In the presence of history, the substance of these myths is preserved in symbols, that is, by means of natural or artificial objects, which, either by some analogy or by some arbitrary association, shall suggest the idea to the mind. These symbols were designed to represent the invisible attributes and operations of the Deity—the powers that vitalize nature, that control the elements, that preside over cities, that protect nations; indeed, all the agencies of the physical and moral government of God. The universe appeared to their lively fancy as the living vesture of God. By this visible universe the Divinity was partly concealed and partly revealed. The unity of the all-pervading Intelligence was vailed beneath an apparent diversity of powers, and a manifoldness of operations. They caught some glimpses of this universal Presence in nature, but were more vividly impressed by the several manifestations of the divine perfections and divine operations as so many separate rays of the Divinity, or so many subordinate agents and functionaries employed to execute the will and carry out the purpose of the supreme Mind. That unseen, incomprehensible Power and Presence was perceived in the beauty of the morning dawn, the sublimity of the deep blue sky, the energy of the vitalizing sun, the surging of the sea, the rushing wind, the roaring thunder, the ripening corn, and the clustering vine. To these separate manifestations of the Divine they gave personal names, as Athene, the dawn; Zeus, the bright sky; Hephæstos, the rising sun; Juno, the air; Æolus, the wind; Neptune, the sea; Ceres, the corn; Bacchus, the vine. These personal names denote, not the things themselves, nor yet the εἴδωλον, or image by which they were

symbolized in ancient mythology, but the *invisible divine powers* which were revealed in, and presided over, the varied departments of nature. They are, in fact, so many different names for the *one Divine Power* displayed under such varied forms. "God," says Aristotle, "though he is *One*, has many names, (is polyonomous,) because he is called according to states in which he enters anew."* "Great and divine Father, whose names are many, but who art one and the same unchangeable, almighty power." †

This succinct statement must stand as our vindication of the statement that all the forms of religion that have appeared in the world have had the *divine* as their basis, their object, and their end. They have had the *divine* for their basis because they have all rested on some revelation of the divine in man or to man; they have had the divine as their object, inasmuch as all worship has been addressed to some power above man—the supernatural; and they have had the divine as their end, inasmuch as their design was to bring man into a nearer relation with, and, as Plato expresses it, a fuller "assimilation to God."

To say that these ancient religions failed to accomplish this "end" does not by any means prove that they did not accomplish any thing, and that, therefore, they had no place in the divine plan. "It is bad reasoning against a religion," says Montesquieu, "to cram together in a great book a long list of the evils which it has produced if we will not do the same by the benefits which it has brought with it. Were I to recount all the evils which have been wrought in the world by civil laws, monarch, republican government, I could say frightful things." ‡ This species of argument is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways. The prevalence of slavery and treachery and voluptuousness in Greece and Rome is no more a proof that "the religions of the pagan nations were destructive of morality" than the polygamy of the Hebrews, the falsehood and impositions of medieval Christianity, the persecutions and martyrdoms of Catholic Christendom, the oppressions and wrongs of Christian England, and the slavery of Protestant America, are proofs that the Christian religion is destructive of morality. The Divine education of the race has been a long

* "De Mundo," ch. vii. † Cleanthes. ‡ "Esprit des Lois," xxiv, 2.

process in which Divine patience and forbearance has been inexhaustible; in which many things have been tolerated because of "the hardness of men's hearts," (Matt. xix, 8,) and many evils have been "overlooked" during "times of ignorance" and imperfect development (Acts xvii, 30.) In every age human responsibility has been graduated on the scale of available light and knowledge.

We may sum up the results of all foregone inquiry in the following proposition: *All the religions of the world have their foundations, their roots, in certain ideas and sentiments of the supernatural—the divine; in the recognition of certain causal relations, in which nature and certain moral relations, in which humanity stand to the divine.* This is the general principle, the first and most fundamental principle, upon which we must proceed in a philosophy of religion.

If we desire to verify for ourselves this fundamental presupposition (*voraussetzung*, as the Germans would call it) we must proceed by analysis; that is, we must analyze the religious consciousness of man, (who is by nature and original constitution a religious being,) and then, as the counterproof of the psychological analysis, we must study the manifestations of the religious consciousness of our race as revealed in history; that is, we must check off psychological by historical analysis.

An analysis of the religious consciousness of man will reveal the following elements or root principles:—

1. A feeling of awe and reverence which arises spontaneously in presence of the vastness, and grandeur, and magnificence of the universe, and of that power and glory of which the created universe is felt to be the symbol and shadow.

2. A sense of dependence upon an overshadowing power and presence, in whose hands are our lives and destinies, and whose overruling providence is manifested in the course of history.

3. A consciousness of obligation to conform our conduct to the will of this supreme power as revealed in the conscience, which is regarded as "the voice of God," or as made known through some inspired prophet or seer.

4. An instinctive premonition of a future life, in which virtue will meet its due reward and vice its merited punishment.

5. A rational intuition of the *infinite*, the *absolute*, and the

perfect—that is, of a *being* who has no limit, no equal, and no defect, as the ground of all finite and dependent existence, and the source of all that is good and beautiful and true in nature and man.

These are the fundamental elements of religious consciousness in man. I believe, also, they will be found to be the radical elements of all religions. Though sometimes partially hidden and obscured, they, by an inherent force, rise again and again to the surface. Though frequently distorted, they have an indestructible vitality, and struggle continually toward a more perfect development. Though this element has been most prominent in one form of religion, and that element in another form of religion, yet unless they had all constituted "the original dowry of the human soul, religion itself would have remained an impossibility," for there would have been nothing in the nature of man to which religious instruction could have addressed itself. You can as readily make a brute religious by instruction, as make a man religious by instruction if man does not possess these elements in his mental constitution by virtue of his being "the offspring of God." The grand *differentia* of humanity, which place an impassable gulf between man and the animal creation, are language and religion.

The philosophy of religion on the side of historical analysis is yet in its infancy. The difficulties surrounding the study are immense, arising not, however, so much from the lack of data, as from their variety and complexity. We have already indicated what are the conditions to be fulfilled, the work to be done, before we can say the task is achieved.

We have said a philosophy of religion must be based upon a science of religion; that is, upon a complete classification and generalization of all the facts of the religious history of the world. The classification must not be arbitrary, it must be natural, and, as far as possible, it must be complete. This will demand,

1. An accurate observation and careful comparison of all the *forms* of religion that have appeared in the world, so that we may have all the phenomena before us with their *actual* characteristics.

2. An exact analysis of these phenomena so as to reduce them to simple elements. And here we must observe the

fundamental rules, "imagine nothing, overlook nothing, distort nothing."

3. A careful study of the varied ethnographic conditions under which these forms of religion were developed; that is, the exterior physical conditions in which the nations were placed in the providence of God, among whom the varied forms of religion originated. This will be found of vast importance, because the physiognomy, if I may so speak, of a religious system, like the individuality of a nation, has unquestionably been modified in a great degree by geographical and climatal conditions. These conditions have determined whether one or another of the root principles of religion should be most prominently developed so as to become the characteristic feature of that religion. Thus the recognition of God in nature as an overshadowing power and infinite presence was the characteristic feature of the Hindu religion, because it had for its theater an immense continent of vast deserts and almost impassable mountains, teeming with life in the most diversified and massive forms. The recognition of God in humanity was the characteristic feature of the Greek religion, because it had for its theater an elaborately articulated peninsula, with extended border-lands and easily-navigated inland seas, where man enjoys freedom of movement, and becomes conscious of power over nature. And, finally, the recognition of God in history becomes the pre-eminent characteristics of the Semitic nations, who occupied a position midway between the two, where nature, though vast, was mainly subject to man through a compact organization of society under rulers who were regarded as the direct appointment of God.

4. Finally, the varied forms of religion must be studied in their historic and genetic development, as successive phases in the evolution of the religious life of humanity regarded as an organic whole. "In vital development, every stage is determined by that which has gone next before it. The egg of an insect gives origin to a worm-like larva; this is transformed into a chrysalis, and the chrysalis into a winged insect. These changes follow each other in a fixed order, which depends, not so much on an external agency, as on the mysterious powers of life acting upon the species which determine the developing process." This is the conception of the philosophy of history

and of religion which was presented by St. Augustine, who writes: "Divine providence, which conducts all things marvelously, rules the series of human generations from Adam to the end of the world *like one man*, who, from his infancy to his age, furnishes forth his career, in time, in passing through all its ages."* And again: "The right education of the human race, so far as it concerns the people of God, advances through certain divisions of time, as that of an *individual* through the consecutive ages of human life."† We believe that this will be found to be the true Ariadnean thread which will lead the student through the still dark labyrinth of the religions of the world. If we can determine the *order* in which the religious consciousness of the individual is gradually developed, we have the clew to the development of the religious consciousness of our race.

In the preceding paragraphs we have ventured to indicate the method according to which, in our judgment, the study of the philosophy of religion should be pursued. To suggest a method in accordance with which a problem may be solved is not by any means to intimate that we have either the control of the materials, or the requisite powers of analysis and generalization, for the achievement of the Herculean task. A vast amount of preliminary work has yet to be done in the collection of materials, and the classification of phenomena, which, for years to come, will demand the co-operation of earnest, painstaking scholars. And when the materials are collected, where will the architect be found, of sufficient comprehension and grasp of intellect, who shall reduce the whole to unity under the guidance of fundamental and ultimate principles? In the mean time it remains for us to give a brief summary of what has been already achieved, and to offer a few hints which may serve as finger-posts in the direction of future investigation.

Notwithstanding much adverse, and even just, criticism, we are still constrained to accord to Max Müller the honor of having achieved a large amount of useful labor in the collection of the materials, and even in the classification of the phenomena presented in the religious history of the race.

* "De Quæstionibus Octoginto tribus." Quæst. 53.

† "De Civ. Dei." Lib. x, c. 14.

Starting from the hypothesis that religion and language have been the most powerful agents in the organization of nations, pre-eminently religious, he claims that whatever classification has been found most useful in the science of language, ought also to prove equally useful in the science of religion. If there is a truly genetic relationship of languages, the same relationship ought to hold together the religions of the world.

Proceeding, then, upon genetic relationship, he finds three grand centers of language, the *Turanian*, the *Aryan*, and the *Semitic*. The Semitic embraces the Arabic, the Hebraic, and the Aramaic. The Aryan, the whole of the Indo-European classes—the Indic, Iranic, Celtic, Italic, Illyric, Hellenic, Windic, and Teutonic. The Turanian embraces a variety of classes too numerous to mention, and, indeed, not so well defined, of which we may, however, mention the Chinese, the Sythic or Tartar, and the Hamitic or Cushite as the most ancient.

Corresponding with the classification of languages he believes he finds three great centers of religion, the *Turanian*, the *Aryan*, and the *Semitic*. There are three Aryan religions —the Brahmanic, the Buddhist, and the Zoroastrian. There are two Turanian—the systems of Confucius and Lao-Tse. There are three Semitic—the Jewish, the Christian, and the Islamitic, in all eight religions. The chief characteristic of the Turanian religions is the worship of *spirits*, human and natural; that is, the worship of the spirits of ancestors, and spirits which animate natural objects. The chief characteristic of the Aryan religions is the worship of *God in nature*, (or, we would say, in humanity.) The chief characteristic of the Semitic religions is the worship of *God in history;* that is, God as by his providence determining the destinies of individuals, tribes, and nations.

Our first criticism on this classification by Müller is, that it is incomplete. It embraces only the forms of religion which are extant. A classification of religions which supplies a basis for a "philosophy of religion" should embrace, at least, all the marked and prominent systems which have appeared in history. The systems which survive have some vital connection with those which have passed away, and the former can only be properly understood in their relation with the latter. We therefore venture to suggest that under the *Turanian* ought to

be included the ancient Chaldean and Egyptian; under the *Semitic*, the Assyrian; and under the *Aryan*, the Greek, the Roman, and the Scandinavian and Teutonic. The amended classification would then be represented by the following scheme:—

		Approximate Dates.
Turanian	Chaldean	B. C. 2400
	Egyptian	2300
	Chinese (Confucius and Lao-Tse)	2000
Aryan	Iranic (Magian and Zoroastrian)	2300
	Hindu (Brahmanism)	1900
	Buddhist	550
	Greek (Pelasgic, Hellenic, Athenian)	1600
	Roman	750
	Teutonic and Scandinavian	500
Semitic	Assyrian	2300
	Abrahamic (Patriarchal)	1900
	Mosaic	1400
	Mohammedan	A. D. 600
	Christian	0

Our second criticism on the classification of Müller is, that he has not faithfully represented the true spirit of the Turanian religions in characterizing them as "the worship of spirits, natural and human," rather than as "the worship of God in nature," and thus, by implication, denying to them any cognition of the Divine; that is, of God. This method seems to have been dictated by the Hegelian philosophy, which places God, not at the beginning, but at the end of a process of religious development. Whereas, he who holds that the idea of God is connatural to the human mind, is justified in proceeding on the *à priori* assumption that the Turanian races were not destitute of the idea of God. And in making this assumption we have the warrant of Max Müller himself. "As soon," says he, "as man becomes conscious of himself as distinct from all other persons and things, he at the same moment becomes conscious of a Higher Self—a higher power without which neither he nor any thing else would have any life and reality. . . . This is the first *sense* of the Godhead . . . which is the source of all religion; it is that without which no religion, whether true or false, is possible."* The Turanians, therefore, must have had the idea of God, and have worshiped him under some form. The Egyptian, next to the Chaldean, was the most ancient of all the Turanian religions. It had its

* "Science of Language." Second series, p. 455.

origin at least twenty centuries before Christ. In the coffins of a large number of mummies have been found rolls of papyrus containing a sacred text, which is called the *Book of the Dead.* Here is a translation of some fragments which date from a remote antiquity, probably the 19th century before Christ. It is God who speaks: "I am the Most Holy, the Creator of all that replenishes the earth, and of the earth itself, the habitation of mortals. I am the Prince of the infinite ages. I am the great and mighty God, the Most High, shining in the midst of the careering stars, and of the armies which praise me above thy head. . . . It is I who chastise, and who judge the evil-doers, and the persecutors of godly men. I discover and confound the liars . . . I am the all-seeing Judge and Avenger . . . the guardian of my laws in the land of righteousness."* Can we believe that a people who entertained such exalted views of God, who placed such sacred texts in the coffins of the dead, would offer no worship to him when living? We prefer to regard the statement of Rawlinson, in his edition of *Herodotus*, as more in harmony with reason and sound philosophy: "The Egyptians adopted a Pantheism [spiritualistic Pantheism] according to which (while the belief in one supreme God was taught to the initiated) the attributes of the Deity were separated under various heads, as the 'Creator,' the 'Divine Wisdom,' the 'generative,' and other principles; and even created things, which were thought to partake of the *Divine Essence*, were permitted to receive divine worship." (Vol. ii, p. 244.) The Egyptian Turanians, unquestionably, worshiped *God in nature.*

Furthermore, in regard to the Turanians of China, we are justified in regarding Dr. Legge as qualified, by thirty years' study of the Chinese classics, to represent the ancient creed of China. He tells us what is the doctrine concerning God in the canonical books of the Chinese religion. The books recognized as of the highest authority are "The Five Kings," and "The Four Shoo." And here "the name of God" is common. *Te*, or *Shang Te*, appears here as a personal being, ruling in heaven and on earth, the author of man's moral nature, the governor among nations, by whom kings reign and princes decree jus-

* "Handbuch der gesammten ägptishen Alterthumskunde." Von Dr. Max Uhlemann. Quoted by Naville.

ice, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the bad." And he further adds: "Along with the worship of God there existed in China, from the earliest historic times, the worship of other spiritual beings, especially the worship of departed ancestors." * The Chinese Turanians, then, "*worshiped God.*"

Our third criticism of Müller's classification is, that after asserting that the Aryans "worshiped *God in nature*," he proceeds to tell us that Buddha was an atheist, and that Buddhism (an Aryan religion) "culminated in atheism and nihilism."

Buddhism, we are told, is blank atheism, and yet on the authority of Dr. Gogerly, a missionary in Ceylon, and pronounced to be the best Pali scholar living, we know that there are numbers of Buddhists "who acknowledge the existence of a Creator." To these men, who ought to be competent to understand their own religion, Buddhism is not atheism necessarily.

Again Müller admits that "we must distinguish between Buddhism as a religion and Buddhism as a philosophy. The former addresses itself to millions, the latter to a few isolated thinkers. It is from these isolated thinkers, and from their literary compositions, that we are apt to form our notions of what Buddhism was, while, as a matter of fact, not one in a thousand would be capable of following these metaphysical speculations. To the people at large Buddhism was a moral and religious, not a philosophical, reform." † Now this is important. To the masses Buddhism was a religion, not a philosophy. And on the authority of Muller himself we say, "there can be no religion, whether true or false, without the *sense of the godhead.*" ‡ Now what is Buddhism as a religion? It is historically certain that it was a reformation of Brahmanism. "It was," says James Freeman Clarke, "like Protestantism, a revolt of humanity against caste, of individual freedom against the despotism of an order, of salvation by faith against salvation by sacraments. § What, then, was the character of the ancient Hindu religion, of which Buddhism was simply a "reformation?"

We answer that the most learned and trustworthy critics,

* "Life and Teachings of Confucius," pp. 100, 101.

† "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i, p. 244.

‡ "Science of Language," 2d ed., p. 455. § "Ten Religions," p. 143.

Asiatic as well as European, are agreed that "the ground of the Brahmanical faith is monotheistic;" it recognizes "an absolute and supreme Being as the source of all that exists." *Brahm* is the one eternal Mind, the self-existent, incomprehensible spirit. But this one eternal Mind can only be known by a special caste of priests, who stand between the people and God —a hereditary caste of learned, absorbed, divine men, who are the sole teachers, namely, the *Brahmin.*

Buddhism was a popular reaction from this exclusive system, led on by Gotama, or, as he is sometimes called, Sakya-muni, "the hermit of the race of Sakya." It demanded a God who should enter into fellowship with man in his ordinary condition. It was the cry of humanity for an accessible God without the intervention of a priestly caste.

A striking proof of the genetic connection of these two systems of religion is seen in the fact that *Buddha* is "pure intelligence," "clear light," "perfect wisdom," the same as *Brahm.* Buddha could be known, could be approached, not by priestly rites and priestly instruction, but by "reflection," by "pure thought." He is not to be seen by the natural eye, but by the inward eye purged from all sensual corruption. It is by "intuition," (for this is the word used by Gotama,) by direct spiritual insight, like that of the Mystic, that "the venerable," "perceive the void, the unconditioned, the absolute."* He who has attained to a state of inward purity, "whose passions are stilled," whose soul is a "perfect calm," so that it becomes a mirror in which the absolute can be reflected, is in "*The Path of Virtue*" called *Buddha* and *Brahmane* indiscriminately.

Buddhism, then, is mysticism in its extremest form, that form which regards the reason, the intelligence in man as of one substance with God, as in fact God. *Buddha* is "pure thought," pure intelligence, undisturbed by any emotion pleasurable or painful. This is the very essence of God. "Buddha is ever at rest. Can his worshiper be turbulent? Can he admit any rude or violent passions into his heart? He must cultivate gentleness, evenness, all serene and peaceful qualities, reverence and tenderness to all creatures, or he is not in his rightful state. He must abstain from much speech." In

* "Path of Virtue," sec. 93.

silence, in absolute passivity, in withdrawal into the inmost self, he may best hope to know the unseen, the ineffable, the incomprehensible *One.* If this be atheism, then Tauler, and Eckart, and Nicholas of Basle, and Sebastian Frank, and Jacob Behmen were atheists, for in their writings you have a surfeit of "the absolute no-thing," "the divine dark," "the infinite void;" and yet they were unquestionably Christians. Does the Buddhist attempt to give form and utterance to this inarticulated thought which lies in his soul, this indeterminate sense of the divine which is within him—then we have the Buddhist philosophy. This is a system of pure idealism, much resembling the philosophy of Hegel. *Pure thought* is the only reality; all else is a mere illusion. Thought alone is the ultimate of all ultimates, in which the distinctions between subject and object, the self and the not-self, are swallowed up and lost. God is the undifferentiated, the unconditioned *idea;* nature is the conditioned and differentiated *thought.* The man who is lost in thought is lost in God. He who "delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, will *not* go to destruction—he is near *Nirvâna;*" *—whence it is obvious that Nirvâna is the very opposite of annihilation of all thought, and all consciousness. Is it not beginning to be obvious that Müller's classification of religions, on the same basis as the classification of races, namely, linguistic affinities, is not only inadequate but unscientific? Forms of religious consciousness do not belong to races. Religion, like humanity, is universal. Religion has its roots in the nature of man—in those ideas, and sentiments, and feelings which result from the universal illumination of the soul of man by the eternal Word. It is true that the religious consciousness of the race, like the religious consciousness of the individual, has had a progressive development; and it is equally true that the form of that development has been in some measure determined by the geographical, climatal, and ethnological conditions in which the different families and nations have been thrown. But these conditions have all been under the direction and control of divine providence. "God has determined the times of each nation's existence, and fixed the geographical boundaries of its habitation." And why has he done this? The answer is, "In order that they might

* Buddha's "Path of Virtue," sec. 32.

seek the Lord, and *feel* after him, and *find* him" who in all ages and all lands has been near to every human heart.

This is the only principle which sheds light upon history, and which, properly followed, may guide us through its otherwise labyrinthine maze. To deny this principle is to say that God does not rule in history; and to insinuate that God, the heavenly Father, has abandoned his children, and left them to fate, to accident, or, worse still, to the devil.

Have we not a valuable hint of a true method for a philosophy of history, and of religion especially, in the words we have already quoted from St Augustine? He suggests that the divine education of the human race has been conducted in the same order as that in which the religious consciousness is developed in the individual.

We have partially indicated the order in which religious consciousness is developed in the individual: 1. The recognition of God in *nature;* 2. The recognition of God in *providence;* 3. The recognition of God in *man*, in the *moral nature of man*, and in the *laws of human society;* 4. The recognition of God in *Christ, the Redeemer from sin;* 5. The conscious communion of the soul with God through the indwelling of the *Holy Spirit.*

The first stage of development has its roots in the feeling of awe and reverence which arises spontaneously in presence of that power and glory of which the created universe is the symbol and shadow. The second stage has its roots in the sense of dependence upon that overshadowing power and presence in whose hands are our lives and destinies. The third stage has its root in the consciousness of obligation to conform to the will of this supreme power, and an instinctive premonition of a future reward or punishment. The fourth has its root in the consciousness of sin, and the need of a divine deliverance. The last has its root in the awakened consciousness of some relationship to God—some affinities with him—and that "feeling after God" which, if cherished, will surely end in "finding him." This development is by no means a mere evolution of innate nature-powers. All evolution in nature is a consequence of the immanence of God in nature, and all the modifications of exterior environment, or, if you please, "natural selection," are under his control. And so the development of the religious conscious-

ness in man is the result of the immanence of God in man, and all exterior conditions which affect that development, such as providential events, oral teachings, testamentary revelations, are controlled and ordained by God. And now can we classify the forms of religious consciousness which have appeared in history according to the same order? namely, the recognition of God in *nature*, in *providence*, in *man—moral nature of man* —in *Christ*, and in the *dispensation of the Spirit*, so that the order shall be strictly chronological, and even genetical.

On this department of our study it is obvious that we can do no more than offer a few general suggestions which may be elaborated, perhaps modified, by further reading and reflection.

We assume, first of all, that western Asia was the cradle of the human race. Here we have the root, the stock, as it were, from which the several ethnic branches of the human family sprung. The Semitic, the Indo-European, and the Turanian, are yet scarcely developed. This is a safe conclusion from philological research. A primitive revelation also throws light upon the cradle of human civilization. And all antique tradition refers to an age in which humanity, still enfolded, as it were, in the matrice of the divine life, as the infant, in the maternal embrace, received not merely a capacity, but also an impulsive tendency, to recognize God in the varied manifestation he has made of himself—a yet undeveloped consciousness of *God*. If we follow the received chronology, we must place this period as anterior to B. C. 2400. From this point the religious development of the race begins. In a tract of country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, known to the Jews as Aram-Naharaim, or "Syria of the two rivers," and to the Greeks and the Romans as Mesopotamia, we have the three sons of Noah with their descendants, the progenitors of the Semitic, the Indo-European or Japhetic, and the Hamitic races. It is, we say, from this point in human history that the religious development of humanity, that is, its gradual return to God, sets out.

1. The first stage of this development is characterized by the recognition and worship of *God in nature*, in which we have a gradual approach toward the conception of the divine Unity. It embraces the four most ancient religions of the world—the Chaldean, the Egyptian, the Median or Iranian, and the Hindu. In their outward aspects all these religions are confessedly a

polytheism of the most elaborate character, and yet we confidently expect there will be found in them a principle of ideal unity.

The Chaldeans were a pastoral people. As they tended their flocks on the plains of Mesopotamia their attention would be naturally directed to the starry heavens, which, even to the most untutored mind, declare the glory of that inscrutable Power which fashions, moves, and sustains all worlds. It is said they worshiped "the hosts of heaven." But surely at this day, when so much light is being thrown on the symbolic character of ancient mythology, no one supposes that this bald statement comprehends the whole truth. Even in this complicated system of astral worship we believe there was some ideal unity; and this belief is receiving confirmation by the researches of cuneiform scholars. For, in the first place, there is found a recognizable relationship among the principal gods, and among these there is *one* that is supreme. At the head of the Chaldean Pantheon stands *Ra*, which is the emphatic name for God. Its Semitic equivalent is *Il*, which is but a variant of *El*, (אל,) the root of the well-known biblical *Elohim*. "He is," says Rawlinson, "the fount and origin of deity too remote from man to be much worshiped, or to excite any warm interest." *

The Egyptians were an agricultural people living in the fruitful valley of the Nile. They were most naturally impressed by the fecundity of nature, the riches and variety of animal and vegetable life. In these they saw the beneficent, productive power of the divine principle—a principle of universal *life*. And so it is often said the Egyptians worshiped animals —the ox and the cat for example, and even plants. South, with his accustomed levity, represents the Egyptian as "shedding penitential tears over a peeled onion." A passage from Cicero might have checked his levity: "These they considered as instruments of divine providence toward the support of human life, and without that view they consecrated none." † Herodotus also explains the reason why animals were held sacred. Animals did not originally abound in Egypt, and had to be imported and domesticated. In order to the preservation of those which were used in agriculture, as the ox, or those

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i, p. 114. † *De Nat. Deo.*, c. xxxvi.

which destroyed vermin, as the cat, they were declared holy and inviolable, and he who designedly killed one of these sacred animals was punished with death.*

The Egyptians believed in one supreme God. They held that this *unity*, as an all-pervading *life*, pervaded in a greater or less degree all the creations of the deity. All the subordinate, inferior, generated divinities were but the agents and ministers of the one God over all.†

There can be no question as to the fundamentally monotheistic character of the ancient Median or Iranian religion. Its real character is portrayed in those sections of the Zendavesta which have been pronounced to be the most ancient; written, probably, B. C. 2000. It is a revolt against nature-worship, and it asserts, as against polytheism, the existence of a single *being* as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship. At the head of all intelligences is the great Intelligence, *Ahura-mazda*, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe. Does it seek for a symbol of this Intelligence, it is all-pervading *light*.

Finally, it hardly need be said that the Hindus have one emphatically Supreme Being, *Brahme*, (neuter,) the *Great One*. When he creates he becomes *Brahma*, (masculine;) when he manifests himself by the operation of his divine Spirit he is *Vishnu*, the Pervader; when he destroys he is *Siva*, "the Great God," as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, which last name, says Sir Wm. Jones, "means the regenerator of that which only changes form." Does this system seek for a typical conception, it is found in *mind* or *spirit*. Brahm is the Supreme *mind*.

2. The second stage in the religious development of humanity is characterized by the recognition and worship of *God in Providence*. Under this we include the *Patriarchal* religion, as the divine side of the history of humanity; and on the human side the ancient Chinese, the Assyrian, the Pelasgic, and the Persian religions, five in all.

The Patriarchal religion we regard as the type of all the rest. In its doctrinal aspects it is well represented in the Book of Job, which is, in reality, a discourse on divine providence. In its historical and practical aspects it is exhibited in the biog-

* "Euterpe," c. lxv. † See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. to bk. ii, c. iii.

raphies of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which are best characterized as an exhibition of the direct providential government and guidance of men. God is seen coming into immediate intercourse with the patriarchs as the priests and rulers of the Hebrew race.

The other four religions which synchronize with this partake of the same characteristics. The ancient Chinese (which must be distinguished from the religion of Confucius) is to be studied in the most ancient and canonical books known, as "The Five Kings" and "The Four Shoo," and which date back, at least, to the call of Abraham.

The name by which God is designated in "The Five Kings" is that of *Ruler*—the Supreme *Ruler*. "By him kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree justice. All were under law to him, and bound to obey his will. Even on the inferior people he has conferred a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. All powers that be are from him. He raises one to the throne, and puts down another. Obedience is sure to receive his blessing, disobedience to be visited with his curse. The business of kings is to rule in righteousness and benevolence, so that the people may be happy and good. . . . When they are doing wrong God admonishes them by judgments, such as storms, famine, and other calamities. If they persist in evil, sentence goes forth against them. The dominion is taken from them, and given to others more worthy than they." *

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood "the great god" *Asshur*. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the gods," "he who rules supreme over the gods." "He places the monarchs upon their thrones, firmly establishes them in government, lengthens the years of their reign, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like." "This exalted deity continued from first to last the main object of worship." †

I need scarcely to say of the Pelasgic *Zeus* that he was the Supreme God, the true God, and indeed the only God.‡ He was the Father of gods and men, the monarch and ruler of the

* Loomis, "Confucius and Chinese Classics," p. 33.

† Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, pp. 2, 3.

‡ Müller, "Science of Language," p. 457, second series.

world, and especially the god of providence, "who hates cruel deeds, but honors justice and the righteous works of men," * and in whom the sons of men in their deepest distress and danger may trust and be conforted :—

> "Courage, courage my child!
> There is still in heaven the great Zeus;
> He watches over all things, and he rules.
> Commit thy exceeding grief to him,
> And be not angry against thine enemies,
> Nor forget them.†

The main feature of the Persian religion during this period was the acknowledgment and worship of a single supreme God—"the Lord God of heaven," the disposer of thrones, the God of providence, the hearer of prayer. All the Persian monarchs rule "by the grace of Ormazd." His law is "the rule of life." His protection is the one priceless blessing for which prayer is perpetually offered. I do not dwell on this point, for all Bible readers are familiar with the decree of Cyrus, king of Persia: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." This is the oft-recurring formula of "the inscriptions."

3. The third step in the religious development of the human race is characterized by the acknowledgment and worship of *God in man*, that is, *God manifested in conscience and in moral law.* Under this is embraced *Mosaism*, as the divine side of the history of humanity, and on the more human side Buddhism, the system of Confucius, and the Grecian and Roman religions.

The Judaic monotheism is essentially moral. Of course, as a national religion, it has several progressive phases, from the worship of God as the Divine King, (theocracy,) to the worship of God in more personal relations as a friend, (the Davidic kingdom,) and onward to the Messianic hopes of the Prophetic age, (the spiritual kingdom of God.) But under all these phases the predominant element is the moral relation of the individual soul to God. Its revealed code answers to what Plutarch calls "the common sentiments" of mankind. We may take the Decalogue and trace its transcription upon the soul of man. Its ritual was designed to develop in the minds of the

* Od., xiv, 83. † "Electra," v. 188.

people the idea of holiness. Its most emphatic designation, as a dispensation, is "*the law.*"

The central idea of Buddhism is, that the law of duty is revealed in the individual nature of man. "He whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way from the wrong" . . . "He from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy, have dropped like a mustard-seed from the point of an awl, him I call indeed a Brahmana," says Gotama in "*The Path of Virtue.*" Nothing need be said of the system of Confucius. Its five "constant virtues" are benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, sincerity. It inculcates reverence for parents, for the aged, and for the rulers. And it says, "Do not to others what you would not have others do to you."

The Grecian religion, as exhibited in the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles, enthrones the *conscience.* The Greek tragedians were the great religious instructors of the Athenian people, and, strange as it might sound to modern ears, the Greek stage was the Greek pulpit, (*pulpitum*, a stage.) No writers of pagan antiquity make the voice of conscience speak with such power and authority. None have ever spoken with a nobler eloquence of moral obligation—of "the immortal and inflexible law in which dwells a God."

> "O be the lot forever mine,
> Unsullied to maintain,
> In act and word, with awe divine,
> What potent laws ordain."*

Of the Roman religion we may briefly remark that "the supreme god of Rome was *law*—law which expanded into a generous jurisprudence, by which the great Roman Empire, with all its variety of races, creeds, and manners, was for ages harmoniously and equitably governed; a jurisprudence which has been incorporated into the particular legal systems of every modern nation of Christendom.

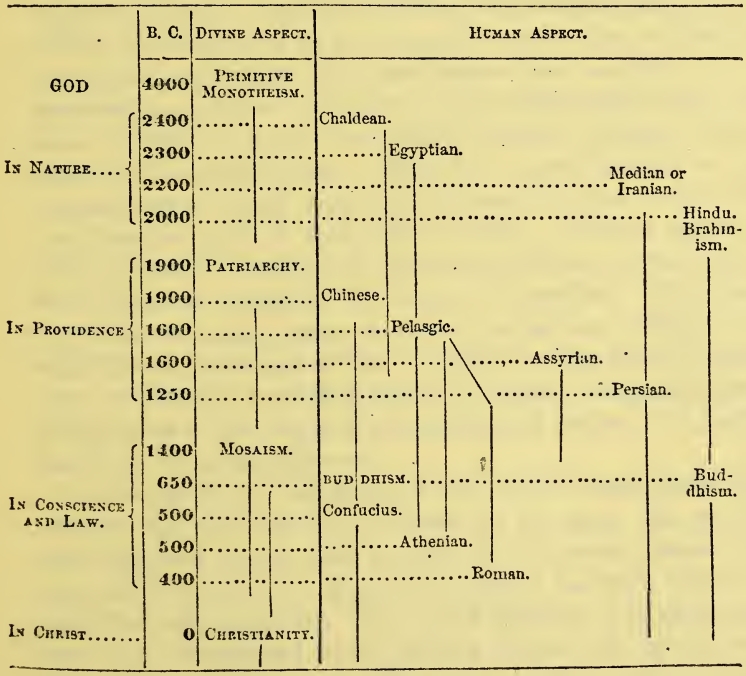
Thus, through the ages, we find a gradual purifying and spiritualizing of the idea of God; an awakening and enthronement of conscience, and the elevation and purification of the moral idea; an arousing in man of the consciousness of guilt, and the need of a mediator; and, finally, the deepening of the conviction of helplessness and hopelessness, without divine aid.

* Sophocles.

So that the words of Plato have a mournful sadness: "To restore the lost image of the good, to regain this primitive form, is not the work of man, but of God. Virtue is the gift of God. Man needs an education which is divine. If he is ever saved from the common wreck, it must be by the special favor of Heaven!" The office of the law is not fulfilled. It has been a "pedagogue" to bring the nations to the recognition of God in Christ as a Redeemer from sin, and the need of a sanctifying Spirit.

The following Scheme will exhibit at a glance the historical and genetic connection of the religions of the world. The chronological notes can, of course, be no more than bare approximations. We have omitted the Mohammedan because subsequent to Christianity, and simply a plagiarism on Judaism.

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD.



Art. III.—LUCRETIUS.

The new phases of materialistic philosophy, and the persistent prominence given to it by its modern advocates, naturally turn our attention to the old philosophers and their theories with increased interest. With a somewhat comet-like regularity, or irregularity, these materialistic doctrines blaze out afresh along the sky of human history, and alarm for awhile the timid and the faithless, and then fade away until new conditions cause them to reappear. It may not be easy to calculate their cycles, but they seem to have a real periodicity, and illustrate the truism that there is nothing new under the sun. They are no new fires kindled among the everlasting stars of truth, but only the old embers fanned to fitful brightness by some unusually vigorous breath. From Democritus, the so-called father of the atomic philosophy, to its latest expositor, who does not hesitate to "prolong the vision backward across the boundary of experimental evidence," the lights of that philosophy have gone down in that unknown abyss which stretches beyond the horizon of demonstrable fact. They have paused awhile on the verge of experimental evidence, but have plunged at last into the shoreless gulf of speculative theory. Restless spirits, to whom mystery is intolerable, they have striven in every age to wrest from the Almighty the secret of creation. They have stretched out a long, eager arm into the darkness if haply they might touch the finger of God. Baffled in their blind groping, they turn fiercely upon that universal instinct that recognizes a divine hand in the origin of the world, and endeavor to banish the Deity from the universe.

It is a significant fact that the limit of the materialistic philosophy has been one and the same in all ages. Its apostles have marched up one after another to the same barrier, and have failed to force it. Apparent progress has been made, but too often only apparent. Like gold fishes in the glass, men have swum round and round, always hemmed in by the cold, adamantine walls through which they could see aggravatingly delightful worlds impossible to visit. Phenomena have, indeed, been carefully observed. Physical science has unfolded

and explained more clearly the motions and properties of matter, and the formulas of force. The processes of nature have been more minutely investigated. Facts have multiplied, and many errors in regard to material operations have been exposed. Important generalizations have been determined in the realm of physical law, and in the relations of matter and force. The knife of anatomy and the experiments of physiology have revealed the functions of every organ in the whole field of animal life. Even psychical questions have been grappled with; some new light has been thrown upon this border realm of absolute mystery. But the old problems that have defied the thought of the ages still wait for a solution. When men inquire for the origin of matter and how it is constituted, or for the origin of force and how it operates, the sphinx is dumb. When they attempt to get behind the phenomena of heat, electricity, and magnetism, they are challenged by a sentinel they cannot bribe or force. When an inevitable law of association is announced, or an unfailing alternation of antecedent and consequent is established, some unsatisfied questioner asks who established the law and who rendered the alternation unfailing. It is easy to uncover the brain and the nervous system and place them in juxtaposition with sensation and thought, but who can trace the connection between them? The facts of consciousness are as vivid to us as ever, but what explanation of them does it give to say that they are the "result of the play of organism and environment through cosmic ranges of time?" And what are evolution, natural selection, protoplasm, and differentiation of species but new terms for old ideas; thickets into which modern philosophy plunges its head, and fancies it has escaped the eternal riddles that are ever on its track?

The philosophy of Lucretius, in its essential features, in its merits, which have stood the test of centuries, and in its failures, which are common to all who have followed him, is the prototype of all subsequent materialistic philosophy. It foreshadows opinions that still prevail, and forms a basis of physical science that its masters have but slightly modified. It fails, as all similar theories must fail, in accounting for the origin of that power that governs matter, and in reconciling fatalistic causation with conscious free-will.

Five hundred years before Christ, Leucippus had promulgated the atomic theory. He and his disciple, Democritus, enthroned Chance as the combiner of material atoms, discarding the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras, which that philosopher, before the time of Democritus, had placed at the head of all things. But it was Epicurus whom Lucretius adopted as his model and teacher. He estimates his master as a man who "surpassed the human race in his genius, and extinguished every intellectual light as the risen sun quenches the stars." His system had been before the world a hundred and fifty years. It was as the expositor of this system that Lucretius, about 50 B. C., published his poem *De Rerum Natura*. His design was not to defend the system nor extol his master, but, primarily, to free the minds of men from the fear of death and the fear of the gods, the greatest of human ills. This was to be done by unfolding the true aspect and laws of nature. If these could be correctly understood, death would cease to be an evil, and the gods would become only an ethical necessity without objective relation to the world either to punish or reward.

The grand difference between Lucretius and the philosophers of our day is in their methods. The former announces his theory and unfolds its applications. The latter reverse the process, and develop their theory from the inductions of investigation. The one is born of the brain, the other of the eye and hand. They are coextensive in their scope, coincident in their essentials, but different in their details and processes. As might be expected, the bolder method involves more mistakes in scientific fact, but its moral bearings are the same, and are uttered without concealment.

Some condensed outline of his philosophy may be desirable, before attempting to trace more elaborately a few of its doctrines and their relation to modern science. A fundamental proposition is the eternity of matter. It is impossible that something should come from nothing; equally impossible it should be reduced to nothing. The universe is a real existence, and absolutely dual in its nature. Body and space, or matter and vacuum, are the two essential elements admitting no third. Bodies are, therefore, made up of atoms and pores. Neither can exist where the other is. The atoms are composite, yet, paradoxical as it may seem, are solid, single, indi-

visible, and indestructible. They have no color, nor any other property perceptible to the senses. They have every variety of shape, from the smooth ball and exact cube to the most jagged and various irregularity, and are so small that air, light, and heat are formed by their combinations. He gives us no comparative statement of their size, as one modern author does, who thinks that "if a drop of water were magnified to the size of our globe, the molecules composing it would be magnified to sizes varying from the size of shot to the size of billiard balls;" but as even the invisible "idols" of the invisible gods are formed from these atoms, they must be sufficiently small and fine to satisfy any reasonable theorist. The pores are absolute vacuum; yet no void exists in first beginnings, or atoms, although they are conceivably made up of parts. Each atom has intrinsic powers of motion, and all are continually in motion however they may seem to be at rest. Even in a lump of iron oscillation goes on with as great speed as in their freer motions through space; a theory perfectly anticipating that of Prof. Tyndall when he says of the particles of iron in mass, "there is space between them, they collide, they recoil, they oscillate." The atoms have three motions; they descend naturally in right lines and parallel, rebound from concussion, and are capable also of an exceedingly slight oblique direction. Their velocity is inconceivably great. Having been in motion from all eternity, they have combined to produce the infinite forms of matter that have partly perished and partly survive. This third kind of motion, an inconceivably small declination of the atoms, is essential to all combinations of matter. As Lucretius denies that the heavier could overtake the lighter, this minimum of oblique motion was his only resort. Denying a sentient first cause, he must devise some theory for the collision and consequent aggregation of matter. It has been alternately derided and defended. It is easy to laugh at it, but not so easy to invent a better.

Such is the physical theory of Lucretius. It is substantially the theory adopted by the atomic physicists of modern times. For long centuries Lucretius' atoms, void, and matter remained as he left them, the unchallenged elements of the cosmic universe. The world was busy with a visible chaos, and amid the whirl of the social elements that were developing, human his-

tory had no time to speculate on the unseen and unknown. It was content with the Christian dogma of creation by fiat, and did not care to go behind the Mosaic genesis for its origin, nor the Petrine theory for its destiny. The ablest divines and the profoundest thinkers derided or persecuted those who questioned the literal Scripture record, and made martyrs of such men as Galileo and Bruno for daring to entertain a physical theory of their own. About the middle of the seventeenth century Gassendi, dissatisfied with the prevailing scholastic philosophy, revived the Lucretian doctrines, and attempted to harmonize his ethics, as well as his atoms, with the principles of Christianity and the discoveries of modern science. From his day to the present the reaction has gone on, and science has been vaguely groping and floundering amid cosmic mazes, atomic whirls, and infinitesimal maelstroms, searching in vain for some self-originated law of order and development that governs all phenomena. The discrepancies of the different physical theories not only show the futility of such labor, but the hopelessness of discovering the secret of creation. Atoms, molecules, mounds, bubbles, ring-vortices, and centers of force, are the various names given to the "first-beginnings" of gross matter. On the one hand, we have the voidless *plenum* of Descartes, filling all the universe at first, and then self-broken into balls, dust, and snake-shaped fragments that knot themselves into the different forms of matter; on the other, the universal fire-mist of Laplace, whirling its liquid billows into suns and planets, that harden and fall with mathematical precision into their eternal orbits. Leibnitz declared a vacuum to be inconsistent with the perfection of God. He believes in atoms, but not those of Lucretius. Hobbes derives the consistency of matter from motion; Descartes from rest. Lucretius taught that hardness and elasticity are the indefeasible properties of matter; modern teachers make them result from motion. To the atoms of "solid singleness," according to Lucretius, there have been added by the philosophers of modern times atoms resulting from the motion of a fluid, and those capable of exerting force at a distance. Newton thought that force had a real existence apart from matter; Hobbes adopted the old axiom, that matter cannot act where it is not. The theory of Lucretius made the atoms move in rectilinear and parallel lines;

Lesage thought they had a chaotic motion in all directions. And, as the upshot of all the physical theories in regard to our own earth and the human race, two diametrically opposite conclusions are reached: one, that the whirl of atoms will one day reach their climax of evolution and development, and the worn-out earth and the effete human race will dissolve into their original atoms; the other, that there is an unlimited progress for earth and man for which a more and more glorious destiny is in store through unending ages.

But it is the psychical problems and the various phenomena of mind which are treated in the theory of Lucretius that excite in us the most curious interest. What origin and destiny for man does he derive out of atoms and space? and how are the movements of the mind, the play of the passions, and the determinations of the will, developed from his material "first-beginnings?" Has he solved the riddle of the ages, and uncovered the mechanism that generates its own force and imparts it to all the myriad developments that exhibit an unseen energy? And are development and conservation of force, the two great discoveries of modern science, really new discoveries, or merely a restatement of the theory of Lucretius on these two points?

The theory of Lucretius is essentially and necessarily a theory of development. It simply assumes atoms and void, and out of these constructs the universe solely by automatic development. He does not shrink from the assertion that every fact in the world can be thus accounted for. Inorganic matter in all its forms and properties, organic nature in all its stages and varieties, humanity with all the phenomena of body, mind, and soul, even necessity and free-will, are all self-wrought from atoms of "solid singleness," and he grapples boldly with the mighty task of explaining the problem and tracing the processes. In the scope and range of the development theory there certainly has been no advance in modern times. It covers the whole ground of development both actual and possible. The great difference between Lucretius and the school of Spencer and Darwin is, that the former boldly cuts loose at the outset from Deity, while the latter seem to shrink from subjecting either themselves or their theory to the odium of so bold an announcement. The former says there is no God, and there-

fore the world is a development; the latter say the world is a development, and therefore there is no God. With the one it is a postulate, with the others it is inference. The modern scientist of this school shrinks, it may be, from the grossness of statement and the breadth of detail which the father physicist makes, but under a refined adaptation of the same principles to the so-called religious prejudices of the age, he softens their repulsive features, dresses them in the glittering garments which the looms of experiment and observation have so attractively woven, and quietly bids the world march on in such company to blank atheism. It indicates his fear of the religious element in man's nature when, after leading him up to the dark threshold, and seeing him start back from it, he declares with an air of injured innocence that he is not responsible for the logical consequences of his doctrines. But it does not make it any easier for common men to plunge into the abyss, even though so brave a man as Prof. Huxley, as in his recent Belfast address, professes his willingness to be "so landed." If he could satisfactorily bridge the gulf between the black shores of his theory and the shores of the divine, instead of asserting that there is none, he would suffer less disquiet from the charge of fatalism that lies against him. Lucretius acknowledges that there lurks in the heart of man "a secret goad," in view of death and a future world. But he meets it consistently. "Man makes his moan that he has been mortal, because he sees not that after real death there will be no other self to remain in life and lament to self that his own self has met death. But a greater dispersion of the mass of matter follows after death, and no one wakes up upon whom the chill cessation of life has once come."

"The fundamental truth of all philosophy," according to Herbert Spencer, is the "Persistence of Force." Other scientists have it the Correlation and Conservation of Force. It is claimed as the great discovery of this century, as the Indestructibility of Matter was of the last. But both these doctrines were foreshadowed, nay, even announced, by Lucretius. The modern theory is thus stated by Dr. Youmans:—

Power or energy can neither be created nor destroyed. Though ever changing form, its total quantity in the universe remains constant and unalterable. Every manifestation of force must have

come from a pre-existing equivalent force, and must give rise to a subsequent and equal amount of some other force.

Compare this with the language of Lucretius:—

The abundance of matter was never more closely massed, nor separated by larger spaces; for it has neither additions nor loss. And so the bodies of first beginnings have the same motion now as in time gone by, and will always hereafter move in a similar manner. And the things which have been accustomed to be begotten will be begotten according to the same law, and will exist and grow and become strong according to the decrees of nature. Nor can any force change the sum of things; for there is no beyond into which any kind of matter can escape out of the universe, nor out of which some new force can arise and burst into the universe and change the whole nature of things and their motions.

Motion, then, and atoms are constants in his theory of the universe. The mean density of the universe is constant and the mean motion is constant. Each atom maintains an unaltered velocity. The modern doctrine is that the total energy is constant, but may be variously distributed, and that all energy is ultimately due to motion, which latter point is not conclusively proved. Now when we remember that, according to Lucretius, absolutely all phenomena are the product of atoms and motion; that heat, light, electricity are not independent elements but results; we see how nearly the ancient and modern theories correspond. Unelaborated by the brilliant experiments of modern times, it may be, and open to the charge of having been reached by thought alone; yet the ideas are the same, and the boasted discoveries of to-day are really two thousand years old.

It is in the application of correlation to the various phenomena of life that modern science makes its boldest ventures and its highest claims to original discovery. Here is the magic key that is to unlock all the mysteries of psychology and sociology; of vitality, mind, and will; of social life and universal history. The mechanism, for it is pure mechanism, of a laugh or a tear could be understood if our eye were keen enough. The diamond is no more surely crystallized light than the soul is finely organized matter. Emotions and passions could be changed into bone and muscle as easily as coal into gas, or steam into ice, if we only knew enough. Faith is only the etherealized form of a good dinner and an easy chair. An angry man is a

Leyden jar of force overcharged, and oaths, grumbling, or slamming the door are simply ways of restoring the equilibrium. Phosphorus is condensed brain-power. The kidneys are the thermometer of mental activity, and the alkaline deposits there are the mercury that gauges its freezing or boiling point. Congresses and parliaments, religious organizations, and all social movements and phases, are only the conversion of force on a comprehensive scale, easily enough understood if we could only fathom a little better the laws of social dynamics. And those laws are only modifications or applications of the principle of correlation and conservation of force. The ebb and flow of the sea of human life is as regular and inevitable as the tides under the sway of the moon. Storm on the Atlantic and the storm of civil war in Spain are alike under material law. In the progress of knowledge "Old Probabilities" will not merely predict the weather changes, heat and cold, drouth and rain, tempest and whirlwind; but political revolutions, changes of fashion, financial panics, and all the fluctuations of social virtue and vice. All that ails a murderer is that his heart is charged a little too highly with force. A savage is only an undeveloped incarnation of force. The irresistible law of force has whirled the Hottentot into barbarism and the Anglo-Saxon into civilization. Christianity and fetichism are alike physical results depending upon different operations of the same law. A man sets his face heavenward for the same reason that the needle points to the north pole. He prays for the same reason that a flower opens toward the sun. A nation bursts into revolution just as a magazine of powder explodes at the touch of fire.

We might multiply such illustrations to any extent. That they are the logical consequences of the theory amplified by Lucretius, and adopted and explained by its modern expositors, and are no play of the imagination, may be seen from their own language. Says Dr. Carpenter:—

> How this metamorphosis takes place; how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness; how it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, or for the forces liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion; these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformation of the physical forces into each other.

Says Dr. Youmans:—

Man and society, therefore, as viewed by the eye of science, present a series of vast and complex dynamical problems, which are to be studied in the future in the light of the great law by which we have reason to believe all forms and shades of force are governed. The dominion of this law, characterized by Faraday as the highest in physical science which our faculties permit us to perceive, is not limited to physical phenomena; it prevails equally in the world of mind, controlling all the faculties and processes of thought and feeling. Star and nerve tissue are parts of the same system; stellar and nervous forces are correlated.

Says Herbert Spencer:—

The sole truth which transcends experience by underlying it is this, the persistence of force. To this an ultimate analysis brings us down, and on this a rational synthesis must be built up.

Says Prof. Tyndall:—

And grotesque in relation to scientific culture as many of the religions of the world have been and are; dangerous, nay, destructive, to the dearest privileges of freemen as some of them have undoubtedly been, and would if they could be again, it will be wise to recognize them as the forms of a force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge over which it holds no command, but capable of being guided by liberal thought to noble issues in the region of emotion, which is its proper sphere.

Now in view of these doctrines here quoted, it is certainly a very pertinent question of Mr. Tyndall, "Is there not a temptation to close to some extent with Lucretius when he affirms that nature is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself without the meddling of the gods?" And we are tempted also to inquire how far modern science differs either in its principles or motions from those of the ancient heathen poet who undertook to free men's minds from the fear of the gods and the fear of death, the two greatest ills, by materializing soul and body, men and gods alike?

A few specimens from Lucretius on several points will show how far his doctrines accord with those now defended, and what products he derives from atoms and force. Take first the origin of life:—

To come to another point, whatever things we perceive to have sense, you must yet admit to be all composed of senseless first beginnings. I do not assert that the sensible and sensations are forthwith begotten out of all elements without exception which

produce things; but that it is of great moment, first, how minute the particles are which make up the sensible thing, and then what shape they possess, and what, in short, they are in their motions, arrangements, and positions, some of which conditions we find in woods and clods; and yet even these, when they have, so to speak, become rotten through the rains, bring forth worms, because bodies of matter driven from their ancient arrangement by a new condition are combined in the manner needed for the begetting of living creatures.

Evidently the philosophers of the British Association who "discern in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life," and who make "the phenomena of physical nature as well as those of the human mind have their unsearchable roots in a cosmical life," are uttering no new doctrines.

The theory of mind and soul given by Lucretius is curious and consistent. Mind and soul are one nature, but mind bears the same relation to soul that the head does to the body. The mind "has a fixed seat in the middle region of the breast; all the rest of the soul is disseminated through the whole body, and moves at the will and inclination of the mind." The velocity of this motion proves that it is made up of "seeds exceedingly round and minute." Atoms possess a power of moving in proportion to their smallness and smoothness. Honey is more sticky than water, and moves more slowly because its ultimate particles are larger. How fine these particles are is also shown from the fact that at death the body loses nothing in appearance or weight. But just as the flavor of wine or the aroma of a perfume disappears, so the mind and soul disappear from the body, and are alike the withdrawal of exceedingly smooth, fine, round atoms. Body and soul, however, are mutually dependent. "With first beginnings so interlaced from their earliest birth are they formed and gifted with a life of joint partnership, and it is plain that the faculty of the body and of the mind cannot feel separately, each alone without the other's power, but sense is kindled throughout our flesh, and blown into flame between the two by the joint motions on the part of both."

Those who have read the automatic theory of Prof. Huxley will see that it is only a modification of these ideas. He sums up his discussion by saying: "The only conclusion, then, at

which there seems any good ground for arriving is that animals are machines, but that they are conscious machines; and what applies to brutes applies in its fullness and entirety to man."

See now Lucretius' theory of volition. It presupposes "idols" or images which are thrown off from all bodies, or are "spontaneously begotten." These exist in multitudes, and float every-where like shadows over the landscape.

Now how it comes to pass that we are able to step out when we please, and how it is given to us to move about our limbs, and what cause is wont to push forward the great load of this our body, I will tell. I say that idols of walking first present themselves to our mind and strike on the mind; then the will arises, for no one begins to do any thing until his mind first determines what it wills. From the very fact that it determines such a thing there is an image of that thing. When, therefore, the mind bestirs itself in such a way as to will to walk and step out, it strikes at the same moment the force of the soul which is spread over the whole body throughout the limbs and frame; and this is easily done, since the whole is held in close union with the mind. Next the soul in its turn strikes the body, and thus the whole mass by degrees is pushed on and set in motion. Then again the body becomes also rarefied, and the air, as you see its nature is, being always so nimble in moving, comes and passes in great quantity through the opened pores, and is thus distributed into the most minute parts of the body. In this way, then, by these two causes acting in two ways, the body, like a ship, is carried on by sails and wind.

Has Prof. Huxley made any change or improvement upon this when he says that animals "act mechanically, and that their indifferent states of consciousness, their sensations, their thoughts, their volitions, are the products and consequences of the mechanical arrangements; that molecular changes in the brain, which answer to what Haller called *vestigia rerum*, and which David Hartley termed *Vibratiuncles*, give rise to those emotions which in ourselves we call volition?"

It would be interesting had we space to compare the theories of Lucretius with those of modern scientists in relation to the various phenomena of sensation, and we should be struck with their great similarity. For instance, Prof. Tyndal's recent utterances in regard to the nature of sight are almost identical with those of Lucretius. It would be interesting also to trace the details of his development theory, a little more specific, to be sure, than the Darwinian, but all the more meritorious, if bold guesses at the truth are the test; how wombs grew, at-

tached to the earth by roots, and when the infants were born, kind mother earth nursed them with suitable milk; how the race went on through naked beastliness, skin-clothing, and cave-houses up to intelligence and luxury; how language was a natural necessity, just as for a calf to butt before it has horns, or panthers to scratch before they have claws; how the idea of worship crept into men's minds; how the different arts and inventions became known; and many other things which are carefully and consistently elaborated from his two foundation principles. But enough has been said to show the relation of his theories to those of modern science, and the influence of his work on modern thought.

As to the atheistical tendencies of such a philosophy, it seems difficult to see how it can be otherwise. If there are gods they are no more than etherealized men, and utterly disconnected with the universe. If the doctrines held by both Lucretius and his followers of this age be correct, that spirit cannot exist apart from body, then an incarnation is impossible, and the New Testament Christ is a mightier myth than all the rest; unless, indeed, it can be somehow shown that matter in its grosser forms may become the habitation of matter more highly etherealized, whose ordinary properties become entirely neutralized by taking up such a residence in another body.

If the physical theories of ancient and modern philosophy come to the same thing—if they are one in essentials and differ only in modes and formulas—why is it not the more manly and honorable course for the philosophers of our own day to imitate the honesty of Lucretius also, and inscribe plainly on their books, "There is no God, and death is an eternal sleep." Lucretius does not hesitate to affirm his conclusions: "Death, therefore, to us is nothing; concerns us not a jot, since the nature of the mind is proved to be mortal." "The nature of the mind cannot come into being alone without the body, nor exist far away from sinews and blood." "The nature of things has by no means been made for us by divine power, so great are the defects with which it is encumbered." These doctrines are formally announced at the outset of his argument, and continually elaborated in all his books. He claims them as the legitimate deductions of the materialistic theory and sufficient reason why it should be adopted. If modern materialists would

be equally bold, they would more nearly measure up to their great prototype. It is to be feared that under the profession of truth-seekers, they (some of them at least) are either consciously or unconsciously the enemies of the truth. It may be a noble and brave sentiment that the only question for any man to ask is, "Is this true, or is it false?" and that "Logical consequences can take care of themselves." But to assume that it *is* the truth that men are automatic machines is quite another thing. Prof. Huxley may be brave enough to risk the logical consequences of his *belief* in that assumption, wherever it may land him, but the Christian world for a while longer will prefer that theory which is stated by a wiser man: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will;" and if both be mysterious, they will still have a choice for the divine rather than the human.

The atomic philosophy seems to have been strangely fated to force its disciples into materialistic atheism. And yet their wide difference of purpose and conclusion seem to show that such a tendency is not wholly due to the philosophy, but largely to the disposition, of its advocates. Epicurus used it as a convenient theory to justify a life of indolence and voluptuousness. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," was the sensual maxim that should govern human life, for that is all the life man lives. Lucretius seizes the theory as the ultimate principle of physical order that governs all the events of human life, but especially banishes from it the grim specter of death, and the dread of the divine vengeance in a future world. Bacon and Newton could adopt it without finding it inconsistent with the Christian faith in which they died. Hobbes and Schelling, and following them, in their tendencies if not in their declarations, a whole host of modern materialists, are willingly landed either in materialistic or ideal atheism. For Lucretius we see some ground for exercising charity. He was an observer of Roman corruption in the last days of the republic. His feet touched the gory stream which Marius and Sylla had opened in the streets of the Eternal City. He had looked upon her spectacles, her social debauchery, and the mockery of her superstitious worship. It was but natural for him to be disgusted with the falsehood and cruelty that seemed to be the fruit of such a religion, and to seek a substitute which would

secure order without caprice and a release from the grossness of idolatry. In the regularity and constancy of atomic movements he found his god, and destroyed the sting of death in a soulless hereafter. But what charity can be had for those who in the center of the nineteenth century, and with the history of Christianity behind them, either openly or covertly, use the theory of Lucretius to rob themselves and the world of Christ?

To those whose time or inclinations forbid the reading of Lucretius in the original, Munro's translation, from which the most of our quotations are made, will furnish an excellent substitute. Many ingenious applications of his philosophy are there elaborately wrought out, affording interesting parallels to the deductions of modern science. Aside from its moral design, the poem has great literary merit. It is one of the noblest specimens of the Latin tongue. It moves on with the stately grandeur becoming to so profound a theme, and yet charms us with the most winning grace. Its opening lines picture Mars in the lap of Venus. Both deities govern the inspiration of the poem, the one with his clashing arms and martial tread, the other with her gliding grace and gentle movement. The dry, hard march of argument is tempered by the music of rhythm, and its monotony is broken by the novelties of the imagination. Some of his tropes are of singular originality and expressiveness. He tells of the hues that are displayed by the "golden brood of peacocks steeped in laughing beauty;" of "snake-handed elephants," and of India "fenced about with an ivory rampart." The logic of his philosophy is vitalized by the enthusiasm of conviction and the energy of an absorbing purpose.

Tradition asserts that he was a suicide at the age of forty-four. No authentic records corroborate the statement, and it is hard to believe it. Yet such an end harmonizes with his philosophy; and if his own arguments had freed him from the fear of death and the gods, it might have been a relief to him to escape from the corruption and turmoil of his age to the unconscious whirl of his original atoms.

Art. IV.—OUR INDIA MISSION.*

ITS HISTORY.

The mission only reaches back to 1857. It was born amid the storms and trials of an Indian mutiny. But it was a child of Providence. Rev. Dr. Butler, the ecclesiastical explorer of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was sent out in 1856, arriving in the city of Lucknow, Oudh, November 29. Failing to secure a permanent residence, and discouraged from his undertaking by the government officials, he proceeded to Bareilly, in Rohilcund, in January, 1857, thus escaping the terrible scenes of the Residency. In May, 1857, he escaped with his family to Nynee Tal, and while the storm raged below, safe amid the eternal hills, he preached the Gospel of peace, and firmly established Methodism on the tops of the mountains.

On the 28th of August, 1858, he returned to Bareilly. The first native member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India was Joel, who came to Dr. Butler from the Presbyterians in Allahabad. Joined in September, 1857, by Dr. Humphrey, by Rev. S. Knowles in 1858, and by Revs. Judd, Waugh, Parker, and Thoburn in 1859, the American Methodist Episcopal Mission was settled permanently in Oudh and Rohilcund, occupying as centers Lucknow, Bareilly, and Moradabad. The Boys and Girls' Orphanages were organized in Bareilly in 1860, numbering some one hundred and sixty souls. In 1861 the Mission Press was established in Bareilly for the purpose of doing job work. In 1866 it was removed to Lucknow. December 8, 1864, in the city of Lucknow, the mission was organized into a conference by Bishop Thomson. It then had ten churches, valued at 10,780 rupees; nineteen parsonages, valued at 74,880 rupees; seventeen missionaries, nine local preachers, one hundred and seventeen members, ninety-two probationers, nine schools, thirty-nine teachers, and three hundred and ninety-seven scholars. One hundred and fifteen had received baptism during the year. In 1864 Paori in Gurhwal was occupied, making the eleventh station. In 1866 there were fourteen stations and twenty-four mem-

* "Minutes of the India Conference, 1864–1875." "Allahabad Missionary Conference Report, 1872–3." "Calcutta Evangelical Review." "The Lucknow Witness." "The Land of the Veda."

bers of conference, (four natives,) distributed through Oudh, Rohilcund, Kumaon, and Gurhwal. In 1869 the Christian Colony of Phanapore ("City of Refuge") was established. In 1870 it contained thirty-four families, or one hundred and twenty-six souls. A resolution was passed by the conference in 1870 inviting the Rev. William Taylor to the mission, and in 1871 he came. Through the liberality and exertions of Rev. D. W. Thomas, the Theological Seminary was opened April 15, 1872, in the city of Bareilly. Rev. William Taylor was so successful in his labors in Southern India that he and eight others entered the conference in 1874, and formed the Bombay and Bengal Mission.

The history of the India Mission is one of toil, hardship, and self-denial, but, at the same time, one of continued success and triumph. Its history has been onward and upward. A prominent Englishman in India said of the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India: "The more their essential spirit is diffused through the whole of the missionary body in India, the sooner will the whole country become the possession of the Lord of us all."

ITS FIELD.

When the founder of the mission came to India, in 1856, he selected the province of Rohilcund as by far the most suitable center for his field of evangelistic operations. Rohilcund is one of the north-west provinces, containing five million five hundred thousand population, of whom about one million one hundred thousand, or one fifth, are Mohammedans, and the great body of the rest Hindus. This province has about twelve thousand and ninety-seven square miles, being a little larger than Rhode Island and Vermont. It has about five hundred souls to the square mile. Bareilly is the chief city, and contains one hundred and two thousand souls. Moradabad and Shahjehanpore are the next largest cities, the latter having seventy-two thousand, and the former sixty-two thousand. Chandausi, at the junction of Alyghur branch and the main line of the Oudh and Rohilcund Railroad, contains forty thousand, and is one of the most important business centers. Twelve cities have from between twelve and fifty thousand; twenty-seven from five to twelve thousand. Then Dr. Butler

took half of Oudh, or as much of it as lay between Rohilcund and a line drawn north and south through the center of the city of Lucknow. That gave the mission a population of near four and a half millions more, making a grand total of more than eleven million souls taken under the care of the young but enterprising organization, for in all this vast field there was as yet no regularly organized evangelistic work. The field was open. The Macedonian cry was being answered by Methodists, and the followers of Wesley were unfurling the banner of Jesus and driving down their stakes in the very center of earth's mightiest empire. The Gospel leaven in the center of the mighty lump must leaven the whole. That line north and south, through the center of Lucknow, could be no barrier to the followers of Him who said, "Preach the Gospel to every creature;" or of him who uttered the sentiment, "The world is my parish." And so they took all of Oudh. In 1871 and 1872 Cawnpore and Allahabad were occupied. At the same time Methodism had spread from Nynee Tal, both ways, to Paori, and Palee, and Eastern Kumaon, and now threatens to swallow up Almorah. It has gone down to Bombay, has carried the outworks and some of the inworks of Calcutta, and taken everlasting possession of Madras. In these three last cities there are to-day more than one thousand Methodists. It has swept over into Scinde, and Poona, and Secunderabad, and Bangalore. On the 6th of last January it formally took possession of the grand old city of Agra. Dr. Thoburn, next to Taylor the Evangelist of India, has gone to Dirgeeling, the Nynee Tal of Bengal. So that to-day the India Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church occupies a vast parallelogram across the center of India, whose corners are designated by the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Nynee Tal; and whose sides are seven hundred miles in length, and within which are more than one hundred and fifty millions of immortal souls.

God has thus given us the key to the conversion of the world. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Parseeism, the superstitions of thirty centuries, must fall when India falls. The belief in the Vedas and the Koran can be obliterated between the presence of saved India and Christian Europe on the one hand, and China must unbind the feet of her daughters and

unshackle the hearts of her four hundred millions, as India joins America in the conquest.

ITS WORK.

In Rohilcund there are seven mission stations. In Bareilly there is a fine brick church. It cost 16,000 rupees. There is a membership of two hundred. Here is the Theological Seminary. It has thirty-two students, three professors, and an endowment of 128,000 rupees. The Girls' Orphanage, numbering one hundred and sixty, divided into seven classes, and a fine hospital and dispensary, in which were three thousand one hundred and twenty-nine dispensary patients, and from which five thousand and twenty-one prescriptions were given last year, are situate here. Moradabad means not only a city of sixty-two thousand people, but a district of one million five hundred and seventy-four thousand four hundred and seventy-one acres, and four hundred thousand souls, in which we have seven preachers and one hundred and fifty members, five stations, the mission high school, and twenty-five others, containing one thousand scholars, a boarding-school, and a large dispensary. The new school building for the high school cost near 25,000 rupees, and has an American clock and bell.

Shajehanpore has a native Church of ninety members. The Boys' Orphanage contains one hundred and twenty boys and six boarders. And there is a Christian colony at Phanapore, and a large day school in the city.

On the Budaon work are four hundred Christians. The work is carried on from eight different centers, each of which is under an exhorter, and in lieu of an exhorter, a teacher. The circuit is larger than an Annual Conference. Amroha Circuit contains six hundred square miles, and has one hundred and twenty villages in which reside native Christians. This is under a native member of conference.

Bijnour is a flourishing field fifty miles from Moradabad. Sambhal is the Bethlehem of India. Here the last incarnation is to take place. But here Christ has already come, and Brother Taylor's interpreter is doing a good work among the people. In Oudh, there is Lucknow, with its English and native Church; its press, which sent out three million pages last year; its "Witness," with six hundred and fifty subscrib-

ers; its boarding-school, and its one thousand Sunday-school scholars. Cawnpore, in which is a flourishing English boarding-school, opened in 1864, and an English and native Church, with five Sunday-schools. Allahabad, with its real live, self-supporting work. Roy Bareilly, Seetapore, Gondah, fields among the masses; and last, but not least, Agra, where already half a hundred Methodists "praise God, from whom all blessings flow," under the very shadow of the *Taj Mahal.* In the Kumaon and Gurhwal District six stations are taken up. This district is about the size of Vermont, with a population of six hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-two. In Nynee Tal during the "season," from April to November, there is a good English congregation which gave last year 326 rupees missionary money. There is also an encouraging native work. In Paori there is a good school. The natives in the mountains are much more independent than elsewhere, hence harder to reach and more firm when saved. So much for North India.

What can we say of Bombay and Bengal? Does it need any thing more than that Methodism is firmly established in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Secunderabad, Bangalore, and that in less than three years the membership has run up from zero to one thousand and thirty-one; that in Calcutta a church is going up at an estimated cost of sixty thousand rupees, and that no public building in the city is large enough to hold the crowds that flock to the services? An old missionary, upon visiting Bombay, wrote: "Methodism here is alive, earnest, simple, self-supporting, and aggressive. There are many earnest workers. God is with them."

In Madras, Methodism numbers three hundred and fifty. Methodism in India is unity. The work is one. The mission is united. Those who think otherwise live twelve thousand miles away. Paul plants, Apollos waters, but God gives the increase.

ITS MEN.

There are fifty-one of them members of conference, fifteen of whom were raised up in India, and five of them natives. Our Conference has only seventeen less than the first Method-

ist Conference in 1744, after about the same number of years' labor. Of the thirty-seven who came from America, one came from San Francisco, one from Boston, two from Canada, and six from Ohio. There are several *bonâ fide* Yankees, but in the eyes of Englishmen we all share alike that compliment. A writer in the Calcutta "Evangelical Review" said of the American Methodists in India:—

> There is no doubt that our Methodist brethren are really in earnest about their work, and whatever *peculiarities of dialect* or of method may arrest attention, and possibly jar on the *feelings* of some, they thoroughly understand what they are doing and quite intend to do it. Nor is there any body of men more devoted than they are, though it must be added that their prayers would be equally fervent and effectual without the peculiar spasmodic, hysterical noises that sometimes accompany them, which is also true of some others of their alleged characteristics, such as a certain deficiency in intellectual breadth and culture, a religious dialect and phraseology more turgid than precise, a too subjective self-conscious and emotional style of both speech and manner, a somewhat oracular tone, reminding one strangely of papal infallibility, and a weakness for honorary titles.

But in spite of the above, these men are bound to take India for Christ. The men are in earnest, and from Nynee Tal to Madras India is finding it out. One is willing to be hanged in Hurtullah, another counts it joy to receive the stripes of a mob in Bombay, and another would die for Christ in Kerah Bhujera. Sir William Muir, who held for six years the highest appointment anticipated by civilians in India, said at a public meeting that "no other men are doing or can do the work that the American missionaries are doing in India." Where can you find such zealous, humble, self-sacrificing, earnest, holy men as Thoburn, Taylor, Parker, or Brown? And shoulder to shoulder stand such men, noble men, as Zahur-ul-Huqq, Hiram A. Cutting, Joel, and Ambica Charn Paul.

ITS DIFFICULTIES.

Although India is the grandest mission field on the face of the round globe, yet it has its difficulties corresponding in magnitude with its advantages. Let us name some of them:—

1. There is a difficult language to learn. Much more so than any of the languages of Europe. Its idioms are totally different from ours. It is a mixed language, and the usages of the different languages which enter into it have to be learned. It requires years of steady application, hard study, and continual practice, to become fluent.

2. There is a wide breach between the missionaries and the natives, a lack of sympathy. The natives look upon us as belonging to the ruling nation. They fear, but do not love. One of the great questions is, How can a sympathy be created between the missionaries and the people?

3. There is the massive force of Hinduism to contend with. The Hindus go in a body. They are bound together as a mighty unit by customs, laws, religion, and national feelings thirty centuries old, and they are as impregnable as a stone wall and as compact as a regiment of soldiers.

4. There is a bad climate to contend with. From the 15th of April to the 20th of June it is very hot, the thermometer often over one hundred degrees in the shade, so that from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon it is dangerous to be out. From July to September it is very wet, sometimes the rain coming down in torrents for days. Then there is malaria and disease every-where, and the heat is but little abated and the oxygen has gone from the air, and life and energy are deficient in the body.

5. There is caste to contend with. Caste is a monster. Caste is an ancient foe. Caste is like a mighty "living wall of human wood" between the missionaries and souls. Caste is cold, firm, tenacious, immovable. For a Hindu to break his caste is to break his heart, his fortune, and his neck.

6. There is Mohammedanism to contend with. Mohammedans are bigots. They are the Pharisees of India. They are ignorant, zealous, proud, and insulting.

7. There are ungodly foreigners to contend with. Hindus and Mohammedans are bad enough, but often we are opposed by the ungodly lives of those of our own race and language. The natives look at the ungodly, unsaved soldiers or civilians and say, "There is a sample of what you want to make out of us."

8. There are the Eurasians. Often they never saw their

fathers. They come of bad blood. The iniquity follows to the third and fourth generation. Generally they are a lifeless, deceitful, ignorant class, with all the shrewdness of their fathers, and all the corruption of their mothers.

9. There is the Established Church. It is established in formality and deadness, and is fast going to Rome.

10. There is Romanism itself. There are one hundred thousand Romanists in India. Many of them are worse than heathens. They have a very bad form, and none of the power, of godliness.

11. There is a deadening, corrupting, paralyzing, heathenish atmosphere every-where. These are but a few of the difficulties.

ITS STATISTICS.

I. Church Property, Etc.

Year.	Church Property.					Collections.			
	Churches	Value.	Parsonages.	Value.	Total Value.	Missionary.	Other.	Sale of Books.	Total.
1864.....	10	10,780	19	74,880	85,660	3,580	200	..	3,780
1874.....	18	75,410	21	99,994	175,404	1,685	6,633	1,168	9,486
Increase....	8	64,630	2	25,114	89,744	*d.*1,895	6,433	1,168	5,706

N. B.—Amounts of money is given in rupees. To find dollars, divide by 2.

II. Schools.

Year.	Day-schools.								Sunday-schools.		
	Number.	Teachers.	Number on Roll.	Christians.	Hindus.	Mohammedans.	Cost.	Each Pupil.	Number.	Officers & T'hers.	Number on Roll.
1868....	50	125	3,906	425	2,144	807	43,739	11¼	31	92	860
1874....	217	400	8,015	757	3,894	1,981	63,996	7¼	126	293	5,438

III. Membership, etc.

Year.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preach's.	Total.	Increase.	Baptisms.
1864.....	117	92	9	218	....	115
1874*.....	1,853	1,401	40	3,294	3,076	520

* Of these there were, in Northern India, 1,145 members, 778 probationers, 40 local preachers, and 520 baptisms; in Bombay and Bengal, 708 members and 623 probationers.

Art. V.—THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE:

ITS HISTORY, CHARACTER, AND DESTINY.

In every period of history some single nation acts the leading part. The others, like the minor characters in a tragedy, circle around it, content to contribute to its success and share in its glory. Political power and the arts of civilization are for the time being intrusted to this one; and while playing its destined *rôle* in the great epic poem of human life, its sister races struggle in vain to surpass it, or yield to the decrees of Providence and acknowledge its superiority.

Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, were each for centuries star actors of the highest excellence. They combined intellectual skill and physical force. The magnificent ruins in Asia; the pyramids, temples, and monuments of Egypt; the literature, laws, and works of art of Greece and Rome; attest this. But Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, Rameses and the Ptolemies; the cultured worshipers at the shrine of Apollo and Minerva; Solon, Pericles, Socrates, and Plato; the twelve Cesars, rulers of the world; and the political and social systems which each represented, have passed off the stage.

Another and a different race is now before us, one that is and ever has been distinguished for its energy, activity, love of individual liberty, and of national independence. From its composite ancestry and character, it is now called the Anglo-Saxon. Our own country is, perhaps, its most promising and vigorous representative. In sketching the history of a people whose infancy runs back two or three thousand years, authentic records are wanting; but the affinity of languages often enables the student to discover and bring to light the important, yet otherwise hidden, facts of a nation's early life. The great antiquity of the Saxons compels us to resort to this source of information.

The various languages of Europe naturally range themselves into three distinct families or classes, the Celtic, the Gothic, and the Sclavonic; each having characteristics peculiar to itself, yet showing a latent bond of union which indicates that they and the races speaking them had somewhere in the distant past a common origin. The cultivated nations of modern Europe

and of America are all of Aryan stock, or, as some writers call them, Japhetians, from Japhet, son of Noah; but 4,000 years have made wide distinctions in language, character, and name between the different branches of this great mother race. Sanskrit is, perhaps, the nearest to the Aryan of any language now known; and philological investigation traces back to that source roots of all modern cultivated tongues, and indicates that their origin is not only Asiatic, but Aryan. This view is confirmed by the few passages of ancient history extant upon this point. All the witnesses we can summon from languages, from history, and from monumental stones, tell us that Europe was peopled by three great streams of population from Asia, which have come to be designated as the Celtic, the Gothic, and Sclavonic streams or races.

The first of these three races was the Celtic, or Keltic. The origin of this name is doubtful. Some look upon the stem "Cel," or "Kel," as a simple primitive word formed by a guttural and a lingual; some derive it from the Gaelic "ceilt," an inhabitant of the forest; others from the Welsh "celt," a covert, or "celtiad," one who dwells in a covert, or from "celu," to hide; while others say that it is from the Latin "celare," to conceal, and was given to them by the Romans because they concealed their habitations in the depths of the forests and in caves. Another writer illustrates the name by three Greek words meaning to conceal something from some one, and infers from this the antiquity of the happy, and often entertaining, faculty of narrating fictions, that some perverse minds have thought characterized the true Celt. Another authority says, that this habit results simply from a desire to please; and hence, unlike a certain ancient Greek, the Celt is said to be given to saying things agreeable rather than things disagreeable though true. This race was afterward closely pressed upon by their more powerful, warlike, and ambitious Gothic successors, and they gradually retired and dwindled away upon the western shores of Europe and the British Islands, till few are left except the inhabitants of the coast of France, the extreme northern Scotch or Highlanders, the Welsh, and the Irish. Their emigration from Asia is earlier than the historic period. It occurred before the invention of letters, when nations had no means, save vague tradition, of

treasuring up their story and handing it down to posterity. The arts and sciences among them were as yet hardly born; hence their exit from Asia or entrance into Europe was marked by no monuments that might, like those of Egypt, through their astronomical inscriptions, tell to the men of science, three thousand years afterward, the date of their erection.

Races of men have great functions to perform in the drama of human life upon this globe; and when performed, they and their works, in the course of Providence, imperceptibly melt away. Their stronger and better elements are absorbed by their more vigorous and manly, I might say godly, successors; while the weaker ones, being of no further use to humanity, sink away, and disappear in the sea of oblivion. The Celts, as a distinctive branch of the human family, long since reached their climax, and are now too small in number to become again noted. As an element, a factor, in the composition of races, they are of great value; but as a separate and independent result they have ceased to exist.

The Gothic or Scythian immigrations came next. These were a bold, roving, nomadic people, who spread themselves over the mountains, and into the vast forests, plains, and marshes of Europe, till they occupied nearly the whole continent. This second stream is peculiarly interesting to us, because from its branches have sprung the Anglo-Saxons, the Lowland Scotch, the Danes, Norwegians, Germans, Lombards, Normans, and Franks; not only our immediate ancestors, but also those of the most celebrated nations of modern Europe. They made their appearance in Europe, according to Homer, Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemaius of Alexandria, about seven or eight hundred years before the Christian era.

The third and last great influx was the Sclavonic. This has occupied Russia, Poland, Eastern Prussia, Moravia, and Bohemia; a race once possessed of great power and glory, for their very name is derived from the word "Sclava," which in the original tongue meant "fame," "glory," or "renown." If the Pan-Slavic dreams of the Muscovite statesmen, to unite this whole race under one head and to develop and perfect it by a rigorous system of universal education, is ever realized, the Sclavs will have at some future period a great *rôle* to play.

But the next act in the world's drama is cast for another people, and it does not require a prophet's eye to discern that, for centuries to come, the Gothic nations are to lead the world in social, political, material, and intellectual progress. Of these the Anglo-Saxons, from the circumstances of their history and their enterprising character, are admirably qualified for the noblest destiny. Their history naturally divides itself into four periods.

The *first* extends from their origin in Asia, about the year 1000 B. C., or the date of the Temple of Solomon, to the establishment of their power in England, A. D. 500.

The *second*, from that time to the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066.

The *third*, from this epoch to the English revolution and the settlement of America, A. D. 1650.

The *fourth*, from those two events to the present time.

About 1,000 years before Christ a martial people of Aryan stock ruled the part of Asia about the Caspian Sea, and were generally designated in history as Scythians. They carried on wars against the Assyrians and the Medes. Some national difficulty, threatening if not producing civil war, arose among them about 800 B.C., and the younger branch, called the Sakai, moved west into Asia Minor, and into the part of Europe east and north of the Black Sea. They attacked the Persians, who then ruled Asia Minor, defeated Cyrus the emperor, captured the most fertile province of Armenia, named it after themselves, Sakasina, or the land of the Sakai, and made themselves entirely at home there. They became so celebrated that the Persians finally gave their name to all the Scythians, of whom, as we have stated, they were only a branch.

Strabo and Pliny, at the beginning of the Christian era, speak of them as Sakai-Suna, or sons of Sakai, and the most distinguished of the people of Scythia; and of this province as having from them taken the name of Sakasina. This important fact gives a locality to our early ancestors, and accounts for the Persian words, several hundred in number, that occur in the Anglo-Saxon language. One writer says that Sakai-Suna became for ease of utterance contracted into Saksuna, and then into Saxon; but this etymology of Saxon may be akin to the derivation given in the "Diversions of Purley" of "King Pepin," from the Greek pronoun "*δσπερ*."

On entering Europe they, in the seventh century before Christ, attacked the Celts or Cimmerians the then occupants of the country about the river Don, drove one part of them back into Asia, and the others west into the center of Europe, and took possession of their lands. The particular rank that they held among the Scythian tribes in their conquering progress across Europe is now unknown; but we may justly infer that it was not unworthy their previous and their after history. We find them at the beginning of the Christian era inhabiting a small territory at the mouth of the river Elbe, composed chiefly of three provinces and three small islands; and from dire necessity just beginning to learn the art of navigation, and to take to the sea for a livelihood. Within these narrow limits was contained a people whose descendants are now leading the world in commercial enterprise and political and religious liberty.

Such is the course of Providence, that empires the most extended and formidable vanish like the morning mist; while tribes scarcely visible, like the springs of a mighty river, glide on to greatness. The largest of these islands was only twenty miles in length; and the most important one, and which contained the greater part of their wealth and a fine harbor, was still smaller. They called it Helgoland, or the sacred island; for, having but one approach by sea, it afforded a safe retreat from their enemies, and was the favorite home of their gods. These, like Mars and Mercury, were the personification of man's baser passions, and presided over war and plundering. No music was more grateful to them than the groans of slaughtered enemies; no offerings more acceptable than the trophies of the battle-field. In accordance with the spirit of that age, the glory of arms alone was sought by those who aspired to the favor of the gods or the honor of men. They, therefore, carried on a continual warfare with the neighboring tribes, but gained little, either in territory or wealth, till the Roman emperors conceived the idea of subjugating all the northern nations of Europe. This was a happy event for the Saxons, and, with a worldly wisdom peculiar to their race, they turned it to their advantage, and began at once to rise in the scale of power and influence.

The Germanic tribes, whose territory lay between them and

Rome, being attacked by the more powerful and sanguinary legions of Italy, ceased to oppose them. Their isolated situation secured them from danger, and they were quiet spectators of the fearful struggle about them; or else, at a favorable opportunity, fell upon a weakened neighbor, struck a decisive blow, and annexed his lands and people to their own. This policy, however repugnant to the feelings of a Christian age, pervaded Europe at that time, and was especially practiced by the imperial tyrants of the city of Romulus, whose cruelty, inhumanity, and selfishness give a color of truth to their tradition that their founder had a she-wolf nurse. A surname from a country subdued was a charm that made its generals deaf to the calls of humanity; and with an ignorant and degenerate populace, it was the surest passport to unlimited power.

By the middle of the third century the successes of the Romans were so rapid and great that they threatened the total subversion of the liberties of Germany. To prevent this these wild inhabitants of the woods formed, in the year 240, on the banks of the Rhine, that celebrated confederation, offensive and defensive, in which the peculiar denominations of each tribe were merged in the general name of Franks; which word, as well as the people it designates, has undergone changes until we now call it French. This confederation was a second fortunate event for the Saxons.

The power of Rome now began to crumble. At home, civil wars were consuming the strength of the empire; abroad, its German enemies not only had many losses of property, life, and liberty to avenge, but they had learned the dangerous secret so well illustrated in the late German war, that union is strength; while the Romans, like the French in the same war, seemed bent upon demonstrating the opposite theorem, that discord is weakness. Ambitious of power and wealth, Rome had annexed, by mere brute force, without assimilating its elements, so large a part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that she was ready almost of her own weight to tumble to pieces.

History teaches that no nation, spread over a wide territory and composed of heterogeneous and discordant elements, can long preserve its integrity. Homogeneity and harmony are essential to permanent national existence.

The advantages of the Frankish league generated others of

like character, until the Roman Empire was overwhelmed by this accumulating torrent of enemies, and her western provinces were captured and parceled out among her rude spoilers, whose improved posterity now governs two continents. The Franks, from their locality, were placed in this long contest like a shield between the Saxons and Romans, and were compelled to employ all their resources against the imperial legions. This left the Saxons at liberty to take whatever course promised to contribute most to their own aggrandizement.

A providential event, not originating from themselves, but from a Roman emperor who intended no such results, occurred at the close of the third century, which by directing the attention of the Saxons to maritime exploits on a larger scale, with grander prospects, and to more distant countries than before, exerted an important influence upon their own destiny and that of Europe, and finally of America.

The emperor Probus, harassed by the annual incursions of the barbarous hordes around the Euxine, now the Black Sea, transplanted a large body of various tribes, including Saxons, from the vicinity of the Elbe to that region to serve as a protection against future inroads. But the attachment of mankind to the scenes of their childhood, and their ardent longing when in foreign lands for the country their relatives inhabit, where their most pleasing associations have been formed, where their individual characters have been acquired, and customs like their own exist, are feelings so natural to every bosom, and so common to every age, that it is not surprising that these exiles longed to return to their native wilds. Impelled by this desire, they seized the earliest opportunity of abandoning their foreign settlements and possessing themselves of the ships lying in the adjacent harbors; they formed the daring plan of sailing back to the Rhine, though they were more than two thousand miles distant by sea, with no chart, compass, or pilots, and ignorant of the many islands and shoals and currents of the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Compelled to land wherever they could for supplies, safety, and information, they ravaged the coasts of Asia and Greece. Arriving at Sicily, they attacked and plundered its capital with great slaughter. Beaten about by the winds, often ignorant where they were, seeking subsistence, pillaging to obtain it, and excited to new plunder by the success-

ful depredations they had already committed, they carried their hostility to several districts of Africa. They were driven off that continent by a force sent for the purpose from Carthage. Turning toward Europe, they passed the pillars of Hercules, sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean, rounded the Iberian peninsula, crossed the stormy Bay of Biscay, passed through the British Channel, and finally terminated their remarkable voyage by reaching their fatherland at the mouth of the Elbe.

This wonderful expedition discovered to these adventurers and to their neighbors, to all, in short, who heard and had the courage to imitate, that from the Roman colonies a rich harvest of spoil might be gathered if sought for by sea. It removed the vail of terror that hung over distant oceans and foreign expeditions; for these exiles had desolated every province almost with impunity. They had plunder to exhibit sufficient to fire the avarice of every spectator. They had acquired skill which those who joined them might soon inherit. On land the Roman tactics and discipline were generally invincible, but at sea they were comparatively unskilled and weak. The Saxons perceived this, and immediately turned their whole attention to naval warfare. Like their American descendants, they were cunning and apt at whatever they undertook. Their navy became so effective in a few years that every country of Europe bordering on the sea had contributed to their wealth, and they annoyed the Roman commerce to such a degree that large fleets were fitted out against them, and an officer appointed by the Romans as early as the beginning of the fifth century styled "The Superintendent of the Saxon Shore." These exploits had filled their island with wealth.

At this early period, fourteen hundred years ago, we see beginning to manifest itself that commercial spirit which has always been a great element in Saxon prosperity both national and individual. Their situation on the coast of Europe, near to fertile Roman provinces, yet remote enough to elude vengeful pursuit, and the possession of an island with a harbor so ample and yet so guarded as Helgoland, were in that age strong inducements to piracy. Their occasional service with the Romans or Franks —for they cared but little for whom they fought provided they acquired glory and booty—was admirably calculated to prepare them for such a life. It may be a little mortifying to our

national pride to trace our paternity to a nation of freebooters, but it is always safe to admit and stand by the truth; and besides, we can comfort our wounded self-esteem with the recollection that the Roman Republic, once so respected that to be even a "Roman citizen" was a notable honor, sprung from a den of thieves, whose character was so bad that their only way to get wives was to steal them.

The poverty and hardihood of the neighboring tribes poorly repaid the Saxons for expeditions by land, while their sea-girt home and skill on the water was ever inviting them to ravage the ocean. Their approach and retreat were so sudden and unexpected that they met with little opposition, and in their light and swift-sailing barks they easily escaped the clumsy Roman vessels, or else bought immunity from the unprincipled commanders of Rome by permitting them to share a part of their plunder. The Roman government at last discovered the maladministration of their admirals, and ordered the chief officer to be punished. But, trusting to his popularity and strength, he with his legions and ships joined the Saxons, and taught them all that the most celebrated nation then knew of the naval and military art. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome, and paid the Saxons for their assistance by giving them permission to plunder with impunity every province that did not acknowledge his power. Sixty years afterward they aided another military aspirant for the "Roman Crown" to gain his object by a similar alliance.

Circumstances like these educated the Saxons for the empire of the ocean, and molded them, as by the plastic hand of Providence, to become a race that should excel not only in war, but in commerce, arts, knowledge, and fame, every other people. During the fourth century most of the nations north of the Rhine assumed their name and fought under their flag. They seduced or conquered many allies of the Franks, and at the fall of Rome were masters of the seas, and quite able to compete with any nation of Europe on the land. This ends the first period of their history. In a space of about fourteen hundred years, ending with the fifth century, we have seen them spring up from the valley of the Caspian Sea, conquer and give their name to a part of Asia Minor, move into Europe, pass fifteen hundred miles across it, become a great power on both

land and sea, and give their name to the country on the Elbe, a part of which is still called the kingdom of Saxony.

We now come to the second period, namely, the establishment of their power in England, and its continuance down to the Norman conquest. Their ambition was now about to appear in a new field. They had often visited Britain in predatory excursions, and were known as a fearless race of warriors, ready to lend their swords to any enterprise that promised a rich reward. Therefore, when the Britons, abandoned by the Roman legions, found themselves a prey to the fierce and tenacious Scots and Picts, they invited two Saxon princes, the reputed descendants of the god Woden, to come to their assistance. The invitation was readily accepted. Their fleets brought an army across the North Sea, and they soon conquered the enemies of their new allies. But then, instead of going back to the Elbe, they thought the country a sort of new land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, and, as usual, made themselves at home in it, sent word to Saxony of the riches and fertility of Britain, and forming an alliance with the warlike Scots and Picts, whom they came to resist, they proceeded to reduce to subjection the Britons, whom they had engaged to protect. Reinforced by two neighboring tribes, called the Angles and Jutes, people of similar manners, customs, and origin to their own, they subdued Britain after a struggle of one hundred and fifty years, divided it into eight kingdoms, and took the name of Anglo-Saxons. Two of these kingdoms, Berenicia and Deira, were afterward united in one, making seven, or the Saxon Heptarchy.

England seems to have been populated at first by the Celts, then visited apparently by the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, and afterward occupied for nearly four centuries by the Romans. It had derived from these successive inhabitants all the benefits that each could impart. But now it was possessed by a new kind of people, who had been gradually formed, amid the wars and vicissitudes of the Germanic continent, to manners, laws, and customs peculiarly their own, and adapted, as the great result has shown, to produce national and social institutions superior to those of either Asia, Africa, Greece, or Rome. Our Saxon ancestors brought with them for those times an elevated domestic and moral character, and the rudi-

ments of new political, juridical, and intellectual blessings. They laid the foundations of that national constitution, of that internal polity, of those peculiar customs, and of that vigor and directness of thought, to which the English-speaking races are indebted for the high social and political rank which they now hold.

But as the Saxon power increased in Britain it declined on the continent. Charlemagne, at the close of the eighth century, became emperor of the Franks. He was to their armies what Alexander the Great was to the Macedonians, and Cæsar to the Romans, and Bonaparte to the French. He organized and led their forces against the Saxons; and after one of the most obstinate and bloody wars that history records, they were conquered in seven pitched battles, and lost their predominance on the continent, and have ever since acted a secondary, but not obscure, part among the Gothic States of Europe.

Saxony is still a kingdom, though stripped of its ancient honors, and presents a people highly intellectual and cultivated. Its nobles have been emperors of Germany, and from them have sprung some of the most illustrious princes of middle Europe, princes who, by their activity, leagues, conquests, and love of independence, have done much for German civilization. Saxony has the honor of having given birth to Luther, the great reformer of Christianity; and its chieftains of having supported and enabled him to carry through his emancipation of mind from the shackles of papacy. The rise of the Saxon nation on the continent has therefore been singularly propitious for human improvement.

The Saxons were, indeed, in their early days, without the knowledge and culture of letters possessed by the effeminate and enslaved inhabitants of Greece and Italy; but there is an education of mind, distinct from the literary, which is gradually imparted by the contingencies of active life. In this, which is always the education of the largest portion of mankind, our Saxon ancestors were never deficient. They had been nurtured in the rugged school of adversity, and amid the wilds of Asia and Europe, or compassed by the stormy ocean, they had learned to meet unmoved the most appalling dangers, and had carved out for themselves a lofty name. On the transfer of their power to the Island of Britain they would,

in the midst of ease and luxury, have lost fortitude of character had not the ambitious rulers of the Heptarchy, each striving to extend the limits of his own kingdom at the expense of his neighbor's, kept it constantly exercised. Thus, their separation into several independent States, though not conducive to refinement of manners and mental improvement, preserved and developed to a surprising degree the practical and active talents of the Saxons. But as the number of kings were diminished by the fortunes of war or the accidents of life, the people underwent a corresponding change. Peace and plenty brought degeneracy and inefficiency.

A nation that both believes and practices Christianity as taught by our Saviour can endure prosperity; but without some such active, controlling, and elevating sentiment in the mass of the people, nothing but the rude trials, schooling, and spurs of adversity can help men and nations steadily on in the course of improvement. The majority of the Saxons were at this period worshipers of Woden and Thor; and the few that bore the name of Christians were scarcely worthy to be called disciples of Gregory, to whose benevolence they owed their conversion. He was passing through the slave-market of Rome one day, when the white skins, flowing locks, and beautiful countenances of some British youths standing there for sale drew his attention. Being informed that the dwellers in Britain were all of that fair complexion, and pagans, too, his heart was moved, and he exclaimed with a sigh, "What a pity that such a beauteous frontispiece should cover a mind so void of internal graces!" When he heard them called Angles, "It suits them," he said; "they have angel faces, and ought to be coheirs of angels in heaven." The name of their province, Deira, was so like the Latin words *De ira* ("from wrath") that it seemed to his simple mind to imply that they ought to be snatched from the wrath of God. The harmony of their king's name, Ella, with the idea then floating in his mind, completed the impression of the whole scene, and there burst forth from his pious lips the exclamation, "Halleluiah! the praise of the creative Deity must be sung in these regions." When Gregory became pope, one of his first acts was to send a body of missionaries to the Saxon princes. But the religion they taught, besides being corrupted almost to idolatry by the forms and

image worship of the Church of Rome, was received by many of the heathen sages on the express condition that it should afford them greater worldly riches and honor than the worship of their gods of stone; hence its effect for a long time was little, if any, better than the paganism it supplanted. But God had a work for them to do, and he found them out in their degeneracy, and administered to them a tonic the benefit of which is felt even to this day.

The vikings, or sea-kings, sometimes in English history called the Danes, of the same race as the Saxons, and preserving the manly virtues of the days of Hengist and Horsa, swarmed the ocean from the countries about the Baltic, and invaded Britain. These restless monarchs were a scourge to Europe for a century, and were universally detested for their cruelties. But their innate energy of character contributed an important element to Saxon greatness.

Nations, like individuals, unless they are compelled to struggle in the battle of life, or are ruled by a high sense of duty, will fall into a moral and physical decline. The history of most tropical countries so clearly demonstrates this, that we justly assume it is a blessing rather than a curse, that man, by the sweat of his brow, is compelled to earn his daily bread; for where the fruits of the earth sufficient for his sustenance grow spontaneously, his mental and moral condition approaches that of brutes. The Saxons were on the verge of a moral and national decline, when the invasion of the sea-kings, like a scourge sent from God to chasten them for being untrue to themselves, awakened their energies, and impressed upon them the undying love of liberty and the freedom of the seas, characteristic of that lawless race.

Perhaps we can form a clearer idea of the influence of the sea-kings upon the Saxons by a glance at some of their customs. In the families of their princes, one of the male children only remained at home and inherited the government; the rest were exiled to the ocean, to wield their scepters amid the turbulent waters, or lose them. All men of royal descent who assumed piracy as a profession enjoyed the title of king, though without any kingdom or visible nation, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but in their swords. Never to sleep under a smoky roof, nor to

indulge in the cheerful cup around the social hearth, were the boasts of these watery sovereigns. While the eldest son ascended the paternal throne, the others, furnished with vessels fully equipped as their only patrimony, hastened, like petty Neptunes, to establish their kingdoms on the water. When death overtook them, the royal tomb of the viking was his ship. His lifeless form was laid out in state upon the quarter-deck, and his vessel with his body and arms was drawn ashore and buried. Some of these tombs on the coast of Norway have lately, after a thousand years of burial, been discovered.

So honorable and lucrative was their profession at one period, that private individuals who possessed the means were eager to enter it. Parents were so anxious to have their children engage in this dangerous and malevolent occupation, that, at their death, they would order all their wealth to be destroyed, except enough to enable their offspring once to hoist their sails on the deep in a well-equipped vessel Inherited property was despised. That affluence alone was esteemed which danger had endeared. No one was held truly noble, no one respected, who did not ravage the ocean in summer, and in winter return to his home with ships laden with booty.

Trained in such a school, the sea-kings exhibited the ruder, sterner virtues in the highest perfection. To a stubborn courage and unyielding will, they added a nobleness of bearing and suavity of manners that gained them friends among their enemies, and preserved their authority in England, though few in numbers, for a century and a half. The most powerful sovereign of this line, Canute the Great, was even a patron of learning and religion; and, unlike most men, the more he enjoyed the favors of fortune, the greater was his morality and meekness of heart. He thought it not beneath the dignity of the ruler of six kingdoms to descend from his throne and teach his subjects lessons of humility. Under the labors and influence of such sovereigns as Canute, and of Alfred the Great, the most distinguished king of the Saxon line, and one of the most remarkable men the world has produced, ignorance and idolatry began to vanish from the island, and give place to intelligence and Christianity. Churches had been built, colleges founded, and teachers appointed for both. The nation began to feel the movings of a spirit that required a wider field for

action than the circle of this island, and the example and leadership of a king and nobility more imbued with the spirit of the rising Christian civilization than the Saxons.

Britain was called by the Latin poets "a country wholly cut off from the rest of the world." But it was ordained by the great Ruler, without whose knowledge neither a sparrow falls to the ground, nor a change comes over a nation, that both for its own benefit and that of mankind it should for the future become intimately connected with the affairs of the world. Edward the Confessor having no issue, and influenced both by friendship for William, Duke of Normandy, and by admiration of his noble qualities, desired the British crown to fall to him. That powerful duke, while on a visit to Edward, had seen the wealth and fertility of the Saxon kingdom, and was nothing loth. When Edward died, William invaded England with a fleet of three thousand vessels, carrying sixty thousand men well equipped, and officered by the most illustrious nobles of Normandy, Flanders, Brittany, and France. At the battle of Hastings he conquered and killed Harold, the Saxon king, and mounted the throne of England.

This was another fortunate event for the development of the Anglo-Saxons, otherwise the physical in their civilization would have overborne the intellectual and esthetic; and they would have been of a nature though strong, yet too coarse and uncultivated, for the highest eminence in an enlightened period. As in architecture, the Doric column, though remarkable for simplicity and strength, is by no means so much admired in a polished age as the more beautiful Corinthian, with its fluted shaft and capital, adorned with acanthus leaves. The polite luxury of the Norman, though of the same Gothic race, presented a striking contrast to the less refined tastes of the Saxon. He loved to display his magnificence, not in huge piles of food and hogsheads of strong drink, but in large and stately palaces, rich armor, gallant horses, well-ordered tournaments; banquets, delicate and toothsome, rather than abundant; and wines excellent rather for their exquisite flavor than for their intoxicating power. That chivalrous spirit which exercised so powerful an influence on the politics, morals, and manners of all the European nations, was found in the highest exaltation among the Norman nobles. Those nobles

were distinguished for their graceful bearing and insinuating address, for their skill in negotiation, and for a natural eloquence. It was the boast of one of their historians that the Norman gentlemen were orators from the cradle. Saxon civilization without the Norman element might be compared to a huge Gothic structure of unhewn granite: with it, those majestic but naked halls, though still Gothic, are filled with all the refinement of art, and the comfort of social life. By means of the continental possessions which William brought to the British Crown, and through the system of diplomacy which afterward, in the fifteenth century, sprang up, a door was opened for Anglo-Saxon enterprise to wield great influence in the national affairs of Europe. Their power came to be felt at every court on the continent. Their armies gathered laurels in every country, and their fleets on every sea; while they themselves, protected by their wooden walls, as their navy is called, have almost forgotten that Albion's soil has been thrice possessed by victorious invaders: Romans, Saxons, Normans.

At this point let us take a hasty survey of the civil polity of the Saxons at the time of the Norman conquest. Society was divided into four distinct grades:—

First. The king, who till a late period was elective, though birth and the wishes of the deceased sovereign were generally followed.

Second. The nobles, or thanes. These were of two classes: the king's thanes, who held land of him and attended him at court, and the ordinary thanes, or manorial lords. Any man could be admitted to this second class of thanes who had made three long sea voyages in his own ship, or who owned five hundred acres of land and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell; though these factitious thanes were by no means so much respected as those of generous blood. The term thane after the conquest was discarded for that of baron.

Third. The freemen. These were of two classes, the socmen, or those who had a permanent lease of the land on which they lived, and the ceorles, or tenants-at-will.

Fourth. The slaves, which were by far the most numerous grade, and were also of two kinds: the household slaves and the farm slaves.

The Saxons were always ruled by a king, though he had but little power beyond the will of the thanes. There was this radical difference between the governments of Greece and Rome and those of the Gothic tribes. In the former the State was every thing, the individual nothing: the State was thought to have a perfect right to the property, liberty, and even life, of its citizens. In the latter the individual was every thing and the State comparatively nothing: all rights were thought to exist, to inhere by nature in the individual; and the State could demand nothing from him for public use without giving him an equivalent. Here we find the fundamental principle of civil liberty; that principle which has been so carefully guarded in the English and in all the Anglo-American constitutions, and which was so happily and tersely expressed by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. Our rude Saxon ancestors, though under a kingly government, had more real liberty, and a more just appreciation of the true dignity of man, than had the polished citizens of the republics of the Mediterranean. The legislative authority was vested in the witenagemote, or assembly of wise men, which was composed of three classes: the prelates, the aldermen, and the wites, or men of wisdom. The aldermen held office during life, and were chosen not on account of rotundity of person, or natural tendency to steal, but, as the etymology of their name indicates, for their age and experience in affairs. To obtain a seat in the witenagemote, unless by reason of nobility, a man was required to possess forty hides of land, or about five thousand acres. The members were by law secure in their persons, in going to and returning from Parliament, "except they were notorious thieves and robbers." At their elections suffrage was obligatory and compulsory, and failure to attend and vote was punished as a neglect of public duty.

For the administration of justice, and the preservation of good order, the community was divided into counties, hundreds, and tithings. The latter consisted of ten householders, and the presiding officer was called a tithing-man. Each member of the tithing was, in a certain degree, responsible for the behavior of the other nine members. Crimes committed within the precincts of a tithing were charged against it, unless the members of the tithing discovered the offender, or could

get twelve men, three from their own number, and three from each of three adjacent tithings, to declare upon their oaths that they believed the tithing innocent. This seems to be the origin in English history of trial by a jury of twelve men, one's peers or equals. From the tithing there was an appeal to the hundred, from that to the county, and, in important cases, from that to the king. In these courts the weight of evidence was determined not so much by the character of the testimony as by the number of witnesses, and when this would not decide the cause they had recourse to the ordeal. The ordeal was of two kinds: boiling water for the common people, and red-hot iron for the nobility. If the accused took up a stone sunk to a certain depth in the boiling water, or carried the red-hot iron a certain distance without burning his hand, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. Sometimes cold water was used, and then if the accused sunk, he was innocent; if he swam, guilty. Another peculiar feature of their criminal jurisprudence was that all punishments were by fines, one third of which went to the judge, and the rest to the king.

It was thought highly conducive to the ends of justice to give a part of the fine to the judge, that he might be the more vigilant in ferreting out crime. Every thing, from the king's head to the tooth of a slave, had its price. By the Anglian law the value of the king's head was £1,300, that of a prince £650; a bishop's or an alderman's £350, a sheriff's £175, a clergyman's £87, and a ceorle's £21. A wound of an inch long under the hair one shilling, on the face two shillings; and whenever the criminal refused or was unable to pay his fine, he was given over to the injured party or his relatives, to be punished as they thought best. Church and State were united, both while the nation was pagan and when it became Christian. And the same body, the witenagemote, raised revenue for both, and down to the year 960 settled all disputes among the clergy. Theft and robbery were so common, until restrained by the laws of Alfred the Great, that all transfers of property above the value of twenty pence were invalid unless executed in open market and before witnesses.

Convinced that intelligence in the rulers was essential to liberty and happiness, every one who possessed two hundred acres of land or more was required to send his children to

school; and inability to read and write incapacitated a man for important office. Their language was noted for its simplicity, strength, and expressiveness. The primitive words were chiefly monosyllabic, and the others were formed by uniting two or more of these, giving to each syllable a meaning. This feature shows itself especially in their proper names, of which, till the eighth century, each individual had but one, and that often indicative of his character or disposition. Some of them translated would read lion-man, tiger-man, lamb-man, noble-man, war-man, blacksmith, woodman, acre-man, etc., etc. Surnames were very rare till after the Norman conquest, but William introduced them to build up and perpetuate an aristocracy. He also changed the law of inheritance so as to make the real estate descend to the oldest son, while, by the Saxon law, the land was divided equally among all the male heirs of the deceased.

The present English language, composed as it is of words from at least twenty-six different languages, is yet five eighths Anglo-Saxon, and in these five eighths are found nearly all the terms of common life. We scold, swear, pray, and utter our proverbs in Saxon. Proverbs are to a tongue what the knots are to a pine-tree, they contain its marrow and essence; and when all else is rotted away, and gone back, as it were, to dust, the very fatness and essential oil of the language live in its proverbs. The great expressiveness and force of their language was caused by its abounding in specific terms, most of which we still retain, while our generic terms are from the Latin and Greek. To inflict a castigation is Latin; while to beat, baste, bite, bruise, box, brain, cuff, fist, cane, cleave, clip, cut, carve, cudgel; to prick, pound, nail, nip, goad, hide, maul, lick, strap, drub, knock; to foot, kick, gripe, grind, poke, nudge, elbow, ding, dint, rap, strike, whip; to wound, thrust, stick, thwack, thrash, smite, smash, squeeze, swinge, swingle, and switch, about fifty in all, each giving the kind of blow laid on, are Anglo-Saxon. It is the Saxon element which gives such beauty and power to the style of the English Bible, and of Shakspeare, Milton, Byron, and in our own country, Webster. That vigor and utility of thought which characterizes the Saxon race requires this style for its expression. It is terse, concise, clear, and strong. Every American scholar

should cultivate it. In this age of steam, electricity, and science, we have not time for the ponderous sentences and choice Latinity of the style of Dr. Johnson.

The prevailing vice of the Saxons, one which ran through every rank of society from the king to the meanest slave, and one which their descendants in too great a degree inherit, was beastly drunkenness. The ale-house was among them almost a sacred place, and quarrels arising there were more severely punished than elsewhere. The lust for strong drink might justly be called the national curse of the Saxons. The dram-shop or corner groggery is, I believe, still an institution in every Anglo-Saxon country. When they conquered the Medes, in the sixth century B. C., Astyages, the king, gave them a great feast, made the leaders all drunk, slew them, and then fell upon their army and drove it out of his kingdom. Drunkenness was the greatest obstacle to their development, physical, intellectual, and moral, and may even be enumerated as one of the chief causes of their defeat by William of Normandy, for they spent the night before the battle of Hastings in riot and excess, while the more prudent Normans devoted it to sleep and prayer.

From this sketch of the political and social condition of the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the Norman Conquest, let us pass to the changes introduced by the Normans. Surnames and the law of primogeniture have already been spoken of. But the most important innovation was the feudal system. This system had already spread over the continent, but its influence was hardly felt across the British Channel till William the Conqueror divided the island among the officers of his army, and made them feudal lords. Under this system all land was supposed to belong to the king as superior lord. The barons held of him, the knights of the barons, the esquires of the knights, and the farmers of them. These last paid their rent in the products of the soil; the others, in personal services, as military attendants. The greatest deference was paid to superiors; and woman, who before, by Saxon husbands and parents, had been bought and sold, was now treated with the highest respect, nay, I might say, almost worshiped; for the Christian knight bowed the knee to his "faire ladye," and would suffer as much to vindicate her alleged ineffable beauty

against all doubting knights, as he would to redeem the "Holy Sepulchre" from the hands of the infidel.

Ruled by these sentiments, the social condition of Britain rapidly improved. Law, before a rude tradition, now became a science, to excel in which required much learning; hence, for several centuries, the clergy were the lawyers. Another change was the introduction of the Norman language, and the attempt to make it supplant the Saxon. It soon prevailed at court, and among the higher classes, and would have uprooted the Saxon had not the native strength and expressiveness of the latter been too powerful for the polished periods of the former. After a long struggle the two coalesced, forming our present incomparable English; a language equal to the German for poetry and metaphysics, not excelled by the French for precision, and superior to both in copiousness and variety.

After the Norman Conquest, the next great event in Anglo-Saxon history is the English revolution. The wars with France, and the bloody civil contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, had broken the strength of the nobility; and, at the close of the sixteenth century, they were no longer able, as in the days of King John, to compel the crown to respect the rights of the people. The lords, unlike the sturdy Barons of Runnymede, who in 1215 extorted from the king the Magna Charta, saw in silence and submission royalty declare itself absolute. At this period there was a general tendency of power throughout Europe to centralization. The republics of Italy, Florence, and Genoa had fallen; the democratic spirit was crushed. The sentiment of personal independence, and personal liberty, which characterized the Gothic tribes, especially the Saxons, and which has contributed so much to the efficiency of moderate civilization, was not then strong enough to oppose the strides of despotism.

From the effect of the Crusades and the consequent reorganization of society, the old feudal and municipal liberties were lost, and new governments had arisen, more regular, centralized, and despotic. But no period exhibited a greater physical and mental activity than the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled, America discovered, gunpowder and printing invented. Painting in oil had filled Europe with masterpieces of art, and engraving had multiplied

and diffused them. The literary and scientific world was illumined by such lights as Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Milton, Kepler, Descartes, and Bacon. The Reformation had achieved the freedom of human reason, so that at the same time that political and civil liberty was crushed in Europe, the right of free inquiry and general emancipation of mind prevailed also and brought on a healthful reaction.

The Anglo-Saxon race naturally and logically, from the elements that composed it, was the first to assert the rights of man. A struggle began in England between the people and mind on the one hand, and the king, nobility, and wealth on the other. The result of the contest, as might be expected with a people possessing the courage, energy, and perseverance of our Saxon ancestors, was in favor of liberty.

But the Anglo-Saxon race would by no means have been able to act its rightful part in the grand drama of the world if confined to the narrow limits of England, or restrained by kingly rule and the law of primogeniture, which concentrated wealth in the hands of the few. A wider field, a freer government, a more equal distribution of property, were essential to the development of their energies and the growth and ripening of the fruits of that sentiment of personal independence, of individual liberty, which to them was coeval with their existence as a nation, or even as a tribe. The settlement of America, and her separation from the mother country at our Revolution, gave them these. The one opened a new world for their enterprise, and made every man the architect of his own fortune; the other relieved them from an hereditary aristocracy, a State Church, and the burdens which monarchy and manners and customs, the relics of a decayed system of civilization, the feudal, entailed upon them. Their history for the past century is our history and that of our mother country. It is familiar to us all. The Declaration of Independence, the War of the Revolution, Washington and the cluster of great names that make the most brilliant constellation in our political firmament; the Articles of Confederation, the Federal Constitution, that most perfect political document that ever emanated from the mind of man, and under which we have prospered beyond reasonable desire; the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the wonderful expansion of the British empire through her colo-

nies and conquests till it compasses the globe, are all known to the boy of the free common school. I need not recount them. And last, but not least, the great war for the rights of man which our generation, by the blessing of God, has had the singular good fortune to wage, has removed from our country, from all countries where our speech is the mother tongue, the last great relic of barbarism, and the last great bar to Anglo-Saxon progress, human slavery, and permits the American Anglo-Saxon race to follow without hinderance its instincts of freedom and human rights, and to achieve its high destiny.

> "The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends,
> And empire rises where the sun descends."

There is an old Anglo-Saxon proverb, "Blood will tell." It tells constantly in their history, and will continue to tell till the race has done its work. The strength of this strain of blood is manifest in the fact that it crosses with all cognate races, and takes up and absorbs their good qualities without losing its own identity, or failing to manifest and obey its own characteristics. It survived the contact with the Medes and Persians without becoming enervated. It sustained itself in a thousand years' journey with other Goths across the continent of Europe to the mouth of the Elbe uncrushed. It mingled with the Romans and Franks, and the older Celts of Britain, without loss. It swallowed up and incorporated into itself the vikings and Danes, but threw off their freebootery. It came out all the purer and better from passing under the Normans. In America it unites with the Celt, the German, the Swede, and the Norwegian, and still remains the same, only improved. These other races, and the languages they speak, in a few generations disappear in the Anglo-Saxon American, who is now, and bids fair to be for centuries to come, the best composite, harmonious development and the highest perfection of humanity. It carries its language, its laws, its institutions with it around the world, and by dint of their good qualities makes them prevail. Australia is becoming a new Anglo-Saxon continent; New Zealand, a new Britain. Africa is being encircled as with a string of pearls by Anglo-Saxon colonies. A few thousand countrymen of the Christian and Saxon soldier, Havelock, rule one hundred and fifty millions of East Indians, and to them China and Japan have opened their doors. Two

hundred and fifty years ago they numbered but three millions, a hundred and fifty years ago seventeen millions, fifty years ago thirty-four millions, to-day ninety millions: in America forty millions, in England thirty millions, and in the rest of the world twenty millions.

This race does not possess the polish and vivacity of the French, but, with a rougher exterior, it has more real nobleness of heart, weight, and fixedness of purpose. Inferior in ability to analyze, to split hairs between west and north-west sides, to determine with mathematical precision the difference between nothing and its next-door neighbor, it far excels in power of generalization, in ability to seize upon the strong points, the great landmarks of truth, and to look at things with a *practical* eye. Without the sprightliness of the Italian, or the cold taciturnity of the German, the Anglo-Saxon occupies the golden mean, his risible not sufficiently excitable to endanger his buttons, nor yet so inflexible as to delay his laugh, like the Hollander, till the day after the joke. Energetic, shrewd, calculating, he will hew out a home and make a fortune where another race would dwindle away or get a bare livelihood. In ingenuity and powers of invention he would seem by some crossing of the blood to have inherited the skill of Archimedes, who burned the enemy's ships about Syracuse with his sun-glasses, and that of Dædalus, the personification of Grecian art and mechanics, who escaped from the Cretan tyrant on wings of his own construction. He does not, like his Teutonic cousin, spend years meditating upon some abstruse principle of metaphysics—he is too much of a utilitarian for such fruitless investigations—but he gives his thoughts to the more immediate well-being of society. He sees a world full of things to do and but a short time to do them. From the school-room he plunges directly into business or politics. Of too active a temperament to be burdened with flesh, he is nervously thinking how he may make his own fortune excel that of his neighbor, or his nation surpass all others in wealth and power; or, perhaps, like his ancestors of the sixth century, he may be devising a scheme to relieve an adjacent country of a rich slice of territory and annex it to his own, without absolutely violating the law of nations. An ardent lover of the rights of man, he is a turbulent subject, but a good citizen. In war he has not

the wild enthusiasm which inspired the soldiers of Napoleon, but he goes into the contest with a fixed will to win. He may not storm a redoubt, but he can fight a three days' battle.

Physically, the Anglo-Saxons are hardy, muscular, active, and energetic; mentally, clear, cool, shrewd, enterprising, and ambitious. From the necessities of their very nature they are friends of political and religious liberty, and enemies of tyrants, whether spiritual or temporal. Their mission demands for its fulfillment free government, free and universal education, a free Church, and one that recognizes man as a being gifted with reason and a free will. If the race be true to itself, if it fulfills the high destiny which the Divine hand seems to have marked out for it, then, when its cycle shall have been completed and its record made up, future races will look back upon its period as the brightest in human history.

Art. VI.—ORGANIC METHODISM.

Methodism, now well advanced in the first half of its second century, has fairly achieved for itself a recognition among the not inconsiderable elements of the civilization of the times. Its presence and power must be taken into the account as a factor in all our social and religious problems. Whether it shall be accounted a wholesome development of spiritual growth and activity, or a fungus upon the body of Protestantism, its existence cannot be ignored, nor can its influence be disregarded. A noticeable share of the most active religionists of English-speaking Christendom confess their connection with it, and beyond its own organism its influence is detected, giving its character and expression to the evangelical Christianity of the age. A fact of so much importance deserves the study of the thoughtful on account both of itself and of its indubitable influence upon the immediate future. We propose, therefore, to devote a brief space to the examination of the spirit and the organic form of this notable social and religious force.

Of its substance and being various accounts, with descriptive definitions, have been given. The characterization of a "Methodist" by the founder of the system agrees with the definition of Methodism by Chalmers, as "Christianity in earnest," and

with the statement of another eminent non-Methodist authority, that it is "the noblest development of modern Christianity;" and its best Methodistic delineator, in the same spirit, styles it as "the religious movement of the eighteenth century." But though it stands out distinctly in its proper individuality, there is nothing really new or strictly peculiar about it. Spiritual religion is certainly not a gift or experience of modern times, and even the peculiar religious phenomena that distinguish this body is as old as Christianity; its fullness of spiritual power, rendering it specifically intense, demonstrative, and fruitful of good works, alone distinguishes it.

That of which we have now to write came into being on that memorable evening when, in a company of fellow-seekers in the little room in Aldersgate-street, London, John Wesley, as he himself declares, felt his heart "strangely warmed," and at once found his spirit lifted into a frame of unwonted peace, from which time he was enabled, as never before, to walk by faith, and to have power over the forces of temptation. Others, no doubt, in all the ages of the Church, had in numberless cases experienced the same grace; but only in this instance did it grow into the forms and organism of which we now write, and which we call by the complex name of *Organic Methodism*. When, immediately after that event, the two Wesleys and a few others were drawn together by the affinities of a kindred faith and experience, the organism was begun, though as yet only in its crudest and simplest form, without design on their part, and certainly without the most remote suspicion "whereunto this thing would grow." The spirit of vital godliness, of which they had been made partakers, awakened them to new zeal, and called forth their efforts to bring others into the same experience; and as converts increased they were naturally drawn toward each other, so forming an association of spiritually-minded persons. Thus, without design or conscious method, and without any extraordinary providence, but simply by the natural outworkings of the newly-awakened spiritual life, Methodism, which is but a name for that life, became organic.

"The genesis of Methodism," says Stevens, "was evangelical life, and in theology its chief concern was with those doctrines which are essential to personal religion." Wesley, in

one of his Conferences, in answering the question, "What was the *rise* of Methodism?" traces its growth from the discovery made by himself and his brother in reading the Bible, that it required of all "inward and outward holiness," and that this gracious state of the soul was attained only by evangelical *faith*, and that, in the order of sequence, justification preceded sanctification or regeneration. "But still *holiness* [a vital, transforming, and consciously realized religious experience] was our point—inward and outward holiness." And having themselves received such grace, they at once declared it to all who would hear them; and to those who came to them for spiritual instruction and consolation they became of necessity spiritual guides; and thus was developed the primary conditions of a Church according to the terms set forth in the "Article,"—"A congregation [or association] of faithful [or regenerated] men, in which the pure word of God is preached." In this form the work began, and from that point it went forward. "Then God thrust us out to raise up a *holy* people."

Had the Churches of Great Britain at that time been in a condition to attract to themselves these newly-quickened souls, and to feed and cherish their new life by the word and ordinances of the house of the Lord, there never could have been such a phenomenon as Organic Methodism, for these would have been at once absorbed by them, and assimilated into their unity. This seems also to have been the result anticipated by the chief agents of the work; but God saw otherwise. A new agency was required to direct to their highest efficiency those newly-awakened spiritual forces, and a new and simpler organization, which should at once safely direct and yet hinder as little as possible their free working. Their low spiritual condition disqualified the Churches of the land, whether the Established or the Dissenters, for carrying forward the work of spiritual quickening which the divine mercy was preparing for the people of the kingdom, and which was destined at length to reach out to the whole world. A new organism was needed, and in due time, and by a steady course of development, not without pains and labor, it was produced—imperfect at first, but tending to maturity; and long before its chief promoters were willing to accept it as such, it stood forth in completed Churchhood. Its minority was protracted during the long

life-time of its founder, and even later its habits of subjection seemed to make it afraid to assert its own proper character.

Wesley's title to be called "the greatest of ecclesiastical legislators," (Buckle,) with "a genius for government not inferior to Richelieu," (Macaulay,) rests much more in his practical wisdom, shown in yielding to the immediate requirements of his work, than in any remarkable foresight as to its tendencies and certain results. There was, in fact, a perpetual conflict between his theories and his practices, in which the latter usually prevailed. "He devised no system," we are told, but he permitted one of large proportions and marked characteristics to grow out of the work of which he was, under God, the chief agent. Quite probably "he knew not to what his measures would come," and it is equally evident that he cared less for the distant outcome than for the present success in "raising up a holy people;" and yet he was unquestionably "anxious about the future," as he saw his work expanding into ecclesiastical proportions under his hand. Because he so wished, he said "The Methodists were not raised up to form a sect," and yet he saw them become precisely that thing through his own management. "He lived and died loyal [after a fashion] to the Church of England," and yet he organized, under its very shadow, the most formidable division in its own body that has ever occurred. In his heart, and by virtue of the spiritual forces that impelled him, and despite his unreasoning and unconquerable devotion to the Established Church of England, Wesley, having first received in himself, and afterward set in action, the vital forces that naturally tend to crystallize into genuine Churchhood, afterward provided for the organization of the persons so renewed by the divine Spirit into a simple, but real and thorough, Church organism. And yet, having originated a wide-spread and numerous "congregation of faithful men," he sought through all his life-time to keep it in leading-strings and to dwarf its development; and such was his dread of completing his own work, so manifestly given to him by God, that dying more than fifty years after its inception, he left it in almost chaotic disorder.

Wesley's "Societies"—associated bodies of regenerated persons, brought together for purposes of spiritual edification—were, beyond all question, real Churches, after the New Testa-

ment model, and fully answering to the definition of "the Church" found in the Articles of Religion. Of these, certain ministers of the Church of England—and at first only such—became teachers and pastors, and thus the two great factors of a true Church were present: first, a congregation of believers; and, second, the divinely ordained teachers and ordinances of the house of God. As soon as these things were arranged, the Churchhood of Methodism was a realized fact. After this, when, in response to the requirements of the case, teachers and pastors, though not "*ecclesiastically qualified*," were employed—being recognized and steadily occupied in their spiritual vocation—they too became genuine ministers of Christ's Gospel, and "messengers to the Churches," effectually appointed, "for the edification of the body of Christ."

When St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, "Christ sent me, *not to baptize*, but to preach the Gospel," he by necessary implication subordinated, as a ministerial function, the administration of the sacraments to the authoritative preaching of the word; and since in such a case the greater implies the less, whoever is called, whether by Christ or the Church, to the ministration of the word, is also, *à fortiori*, authorized to perform any of the minor offices of the pastorate. When, therefore, Mr. Wesley had accepted and appointed certain men to preach the Gospel in his Societies and elsewhere, he recognized them as Christian ministers, and as such they possessed all the functions of that office. It may have been expedient, for prudential reasons, that they should, for a time, abstain from the exercise of some of the minor functions of their ministry; but in doing so they did not disclaim the right to these: and in the earnest demand of the people for the sacraments at the hands of their religious teachers, and the confessed sympathy of the preachers with them in making this demand, we have the only conditions required for the instituting of perfected pastoral relations. It is evident, also, that in this view those preachers met with almost entire unanimity; nor does it appear that Mr. Wesley himself ever denied that they had this right, though he desired that its exercises should be held in abeyance.*

The organic individuality and genuine ecclesiastical char-

* In John Pawson's Memoir of Dr. Whitehead (an unpublished manuscript) are found some remarkable passages on this subject. It should be noted that Paw-

acter of Mr. Wesley's "United Societies" was fairly developed during the first decade after his great spiritual transformation —a fact which forty years of restraints and dwarfing could not reverse. Their Churchhood was defective in nothing, except in their practical disuse of a part of their ministerial functions by the preachers, and their denial to their people of what was due to them at the hands of their accepted religious guides and instructors. In 1750 the ecclesiastical character of the associated body of "the people called Methodists" differed in no essential feature from the same body as it was at the decease of its great founder, and those who after that event drew themselves still more closely together were the now recognized predecessors of the British Wesleyan Church of the present time—a body whose truly Churchly character needs no defense. It was not by any formal act of ordination that the ministers of that Church, during almost a hundred years, were recognized, and yet they were accepted by each other, and by those to whom they ministered, as called of God, and qualified by the Holy Spirit for their great work. Respecting Mr. Wesley's restraints, laid upon his preachers as long as he lived, and also the marked deference of his followers, even to the present time, for the Established Church of England, nothing need be said. We certainly have no sympathy either with his scruples or their overweening regard for a rival, not to say superciliously hostile, body, in no particular their ecclesiastical superior, and almost incomparably less effective as an evangelizing agency; and yet it is quite possible that the divine Wisdom and power have brought good out of these displays of human imperfections in good but not infallible men.

American Methodism from the very first assumed for itself

son favored the more conservative policy of Mr. Wesley and the Methodists toward the Established Church, and yet he says: "It is true that a party existed, both among the preachers and people, who were inclined to believe that those men whom God had called to preach might lawfully administer the sacraments, as they were not able to perceive that it required a greater degree of wisdom or piety to qualify a person to baptize a child than to preach the word of God;" and a little further on, in referring to the question of an entire separation of the Methodists from the Church, and noting both the strong feeling against it in the minds of some, and also the unreadiness of the former for such a separate existence, but putting the entire case on other than ecclesiastical grounds, he remarks, "*Common prudence* prevented them from wishing for that which they knew could not be accomplished."—TYERMAN'S "*Wesley*," vol. iii, pp. 298, 299.

an ecclesiastical character, and even more rapidly than the parent body became distinctively individualized. A few individuals in New York, in whose hearts the spirit of genuine Methodism had been awakened in Ireland, but which, as to most of them, had almost died out in the land of their exile, became united together for mutual Christian edification. A real New Testament Church was soon formed in the house of one of their number, who also became their minister, and by indubitable results he was soon attested as one divinely called, installed, and sealed, the "angel" or "bishop" of the infant "congregation of faithful men and women." A better authorized Christian teacher than was Philip Embury has seldom blessed the souls of a company of humble believers; a better authenticated Methodist preacher has never preached a free and full salvation to his fellow-men in this or in any other country. And although, because of his lack of due appreciation of his own calling, or out of deference to the prejudices of others, he forbore to exercise some parts of the functions of his ministry, that fact in no degree invalidated his ministerial authority. Nor was it because of any lack of ecclesiastical completeness that the infant Church in New York sought the recognition and favor of the parent body in Europe, and especially of its venerated leader. They asked for, because they needed, an increase of their ministerial force, and because they longed for a closer union with those of like precious experiences; *and in response to their invitation* ministers were sent out from England to labor for the upbuilding of the work in America. Here they found a Church already organized, and provided with the principal ordinances of religion, and their coming brought to it no new element. If at one time more than all others Methodism has presented the sight of a strictly "Original Church of Christ," that scene was presented in the modest dwelling of Philip Embury, afterward re-enacted in the "Rigging Loft," and at length more permanently seen in the chapel on Golden Hill, with only its carpenter bishop. The coming of Mr. Wesley's evangelists, no doubt, greatly refreshed the spirits and strengthened the hands of these believers. This they needed, and nothing more.

The original Methodism of Maryland and Virginia was, if not more completely a Church system, raised up and estab-

lished in entire separation from English Methodism, or any other ecclesiastical body; was of wider extent, and more nearly conformed to the organic Methodistic model. Robert Strawbridge, who, though he had at one time been a local preacher in Ireland, had by his removal to America without testimonials or credentials entirely separated himself from Mr. Wesley's Societies, between the years 1760 and 1770 began to preach the Gospel in the State of Maryland. The story of his proceedings, and of the fruits that grew out of his labors, is one of the most heroic chapters of early Methodist history. Beginning in Harford County, where he formed his first class and built a meeting-house, he extended his travels in every direction—to Baltimore, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to Virginia, and to Pennsylvania. He organized his "Societies" after the Wesleyan model, and to them he regularly ministered, with the aid of such "helpers" as were raised up to him from among his own converts, preaching to them the word and administering the sacraments. Among his converts in Harford were the parents of Rev. John Wesley Bond and his brother, Dr. Thomas E. Bond, upon whom he performed the rite of baptism in his infancy; and in Lancaster was the family of Martin Boehm, the father of the original German Methodism, who also gave a son to our ministry, the now venerable centenarian, Rev. Henry Boehm. When Mr. Wesley's missionaries came into these parts they found Methodism already planted, and grown to a good degree of organic completeness, which they took into their own hands and subjected to their own discipline, especially in the matter of the sacraments, of which they wholly deprived the people, although it was in nearly every case literally impossible for them to receive the ordinances from any others.

There is a strange vagueness about the early accounts of Strawbridge's labors and successes, which, considered in connection with their manifest extent and the solidity of the results when found and taken possession of by the English preachers, suggest the thought that there was a reason for this obliviousness of history. "Preachers," writes Stevens, "were rapidly raised by him. . . . Sator Stephenson, Nathan Perego, Richard Webster, and others. . . . We have in the early biographies of Methodism frequent intimations of

Strawbridge's labors and success. . . . We discover him now penetrating into Pennsylvania, and then arousing the population of the Eastern Shore of Maryland; now bearing the standard into Baltimore, and then planting it successfully in Georgetown, on the Potomac, and in Fairfax County, Va.; and by the time that the regular itinerancy came effectually into operation in Maryland, a band of preachers, headed by such men as Watters, Gatch, Bowham, Haggerty, Durbin, Garrettson, seem to have been prepared . . . for the more methodical prosecution of the great cause." The name of Strawbridge is found in the "Minutes" for two different years, 1773 and 1775, after which it disappears "unaccountably." The reason for all this is intimated in the further remark: "It is probable that his Irish spirit could not brook the stern authority of Asbury [Rankin?] and his associates, *especially the requirement . . . that the administration of the sacraments . . should be suspended.*" The preachers sent out by Mr. Wesley claimed the entire control of the "Societies" in America, and the agents whom God had used in originating the work seem to have been thrust aside with but little consideration. Embury yielded quietly but sorrowfully; but Strawbridge resisted stoutly, and persisted in giving the sacraments to his people. The Conference of 1773, therefore, put his name in the "Minutes" with instructions that he must labor under the direction of Mr. Rankin, who was Mr. Wesley's "assistant" for America; but as he was still refractory, his name was dropped at the next Conference. Two years later the attempt was renewed, but with even less success than before; and from that time the name of Robert Strawbridge disappears from the records of American Methodism. Why this was so is intimated by Stevens, when he says, "Asbury's prejudice against Strawbridge for Hibernian independence [or was it his conscientious regard for Christian liberty?] in the sacramental controversy continued to the last. "He is no more," wrote the great but rigorous bishop; "upon the whole I am inclined to think the Lord took him away in judgment, because he was in the way to do hurt to His cause." This was the record made after the death of the first great apostle of Methodism in Maryland, of whom, however, another of his opponents wrote that "he died in great peace."

These things show how intense was the struggle in the very infancy of our Church between the evangelical liberals and the high-church ritualists, a struggle in which, as in most cases in Church history, the latter prevailed. Asbury's honesty in this case, as well as his unselfish devotion all through his life, cannot be questioned; and equal praise must also be accorded to Strawbridge. They differed from each other as some of the apostles differed among themselves, and it is by no means certain that in their controversy the right prevailed. Asbury was both a great and a good man; but he was human, and together with his confessed excellences he possessed certain other qualities not quite so admirable. He was a thorough Englishman in his native character, and his original traits had been developed and intensified under the more than military rule exercised by Mr. Wesley over his helpers. He was also, unlike most of Mr. Wesley's preachers, a sacramentarian, and conscientiously believed that it was a sacrilege for any one "not duly ordained" to dispense those "most blessed mysteries." In a note at the bottom of the page from which the above extracts are taken we read: "Asbury's great military soul could pardon almost any offense but insubordination to authority. Not only Strawbridge's persistence in the administration of the sacraments, but his continued charge of *Sam's Creek* and *Brush Forest* congregations, displeased him." These two societies were those first formed by Strawbridge, and they also adhered to him after his "separation."

The history of the early years of Methodism in Maryland and the regions round about, goes to prove the completeness of its churchhood in those times, and it also shows that American Methodism was indigenous to the country, and not of transatlantic origin. There was an American Methodist Church, with its converted men and women, its ministers of the word and sacraments, and with its affiliated Churches and united pastorate, making a real and genuine itinerancy, before Mr. Wesley's missionaries set their feet upon these shores. And who will say that these evangelists were not duly called and qualified ministers of the Gospel, or that the sacraments dispensed from their hands were not "valid?" And what elements beyond incidental provisions and adaptations have since been added?

Under the direction of the English preachers, and more particularly of Rankin, Wesley's "assistant" for America, the isolated societies at New York and Philadelphia were brought into a unity with those gathered by Strawbridge, and the work was distributed into "circuits," with their "preachers" duly appointed, who were changed from place to place at not remote intervals of time. Thus the body attained to that completed solidarity which is a chief and essential element of organic Methodism, answering to which is the unity of the pastorate of the whole body, which also was now recognized and steadily maintained. Here, then, were present, and arranged in due order, all of those common elements that are found alike in all the various Methodist organizations, whether in Europe or America. A quickened power of spiritual life is the common characteristic of every genuine Methodist of all times or places, or of whatever particular ecclesiastical association; but that any association of such believers shall be organically of the Methodistic family, they must preserve this consolidation of Churches and pastors in a common unity. Around this central principle organic Methodism has become crystallized into the form and symmetry in which it stands forth an embodiment of spiritual life and churchly power. In its essential being, Methodism is simply spiritual life developed in individual experience; in its organic form, it is a consolidated union made up of souls thus regenerated and associated for mutual Christian culture, and for the maintenance of the ordinances of worship, with a common Church membership and a common pastorate; all which conditions are fulfilled alike in episcopal and non-episcopal Methodism in America and Europe.

At its inception American Methodism, whether in New York or Maryland, was automatic. Embury and his associates formed, and for a number of years maintained, a complete congregational Church, entirely distinct from any other body in Christendom. After the coming of the English preachers, that Church at length became associated with others, which together formed a genuine Methodist organism. Strawbridge's "United Societies" and Association of Ministers constituted at once a presbytery and a consolidated body of Churches, thus completing all the conditions of a Methodist

itinerancy. And all this was formed and in complete working order before the arrival of the English preachers. These, at their coming, entered into the arrangements they found made ready to their hands, and wisely forbore to make radical changes in any of them; and accordingly the Methodism found in this country by Dr. Coke and associates was the same that had been found by those first-coming preachers from England.

From a very early stage in its history Wesleyan Methodism, both in Europe and America, gave signs of discordant elements in its organism. The student of the history of English Methodism is familiar with the struggles that began at a comparatively early period and continued to agitate the body till some time after the death of its great founder, respecting the declining or assuming by the "United Societies" of a complete Churchhood; that is, whether or not the preachers should administer the sacraments to their people. In America, at first there was no conflict over this subject; for while at New York, under the very shadow of the State Church, the sacraments were not given by Embury; in Maryland, Strawbridge and his associates used their authority in this thing from the very first, in which, however, they were resisted by the English preachers at their coming. It nowhere appears, however, that Mr. Wesley at any time denied the *lawfulness* of his preachers' administration of the sacraments, but in all cases of opposition to it he was careful only to say that it was not *expedient*, while his brother earnestly, almost frantically, declared it to be *unlawful*. But the causes which forbade the assumption of a perfected churchly form by the early Methodists in England did not exist in America, and not one of Mr. Wesley's array of "Reasons for not Separating from the Church" was applicable to the state of things in this country. Had he been here, therefore, he must either have found out other "reasons," or consented to Strawbridge's course of proceeding. But most of the English preachers, and notably Rankin and Asbury, were less liberal in their views than was their great leader; and, like the younger Wesley, they insisted that it was not lawful for any one not "regularly ordained" to administer the sacraments, however largely his divine calling to the office and work of the ministry may have been attested by the accompanying power of the Spirit.

We have seen how serious was the schism between Strawbridge and Asbury (the first in Methodism) over this subject; but the separation of the former from the Methodist body, and his subsequent death, did not end the strife. The people still demanded the "ordinances," and could not be made to understand how it could be that ministers of Christ, of whose divine commission they were themselves the seals, should not be allowed to give the sacraments to their own converts; and most of the ministers themselves fully sympathized with their members, but for peace' sake they submitted. But at the Conference of 1777, so strong was the pressure, that Rankin himself propounded the question for discussion, "Shall we Administer the Ordinances?" and "after much conversation on the subject it was unanimously agreed to lay it over for the determination of the next Conference."—*Lee.* Some intimation respecting the cause of their hesitation is given in the further remark, "In fact we considered ourselves at this time members of the Church of England," by whose laws, and not because they were unordained, they were forbidden; and even that consideration sufficed only to persuade them to delay for a single year. It was not, however, till two years later that the affirmative action was really taken.

The year 1779 is a notable one in the early history of American Methodism, and its interest may excuse a little fuller notice of its events than is strictly necessary for the elucidation of the point we have immediately in hand. The war of the Revolution was then at its height, and all the English preachers had fled the country except Asbury, who was secreted at the house of a friend in Kent County, in the State of Delaware. The Conference of 1778 had been but thinly attended, and therefore nothing was done about the matter of the ordinances; the next year's (1779) Conference had been fixed to meet in Fluvanna County, in Virginia. Rankin, who, as Mr. Wesley's "assistant," was the recognized head of the body, had escaped to England, and no one more than any other had authority. But at his retreat in Delaware Asbury called together as many preachers as were within reach, and held a "Conference" with them. This body of sixteen preachers, called together informally, assumed for itself supreme authority, and began by recognizing Asbury as "General Assistant

for America," and among other things they resolved, "By all means to guard against a separation from the Church, [of England,] direct or indirect;" which meant, in practice, that they would abstain from administering the sacraments, which, indeed, as Churchmen, they were bound to do. Of their rights as Christian ministers they said nothing, and silence in such a case is scarcely less than positive assent.

In due time the regular Conference assembled, according to appointment, at the Broken Back Chapel, Fluvanna County, Virginia, at which were present a considerably larger number than at the meeting with Asbury in Delaware. This body voted, with great unanimity, in favor of the administration of the "ordinances," (that was the term commonly used,) and to give to their proceedings the desired appearance of "regularity," they resolved that there should be a formal ordination by the imposition of hands. They therefore chose four of their number, headed by Philip Gatch, one of the ablest and best of the original class of American preachers, to act as a "presbytery" in behalf of the whole body. These first laid hands, each three upon the fourth, till all had been "ordained," and then they proceeded to "ordain" the other members of the Conference, or "as many as desired to receive it," which seems to have included very nearly the whole. It is thus historically shown that in 1779 the only legal Methodist Conference held in America claimed and exercised complete ecclesiastical authority.

American Methodism had already, with the consent of all the parties concerned, become a consolidated unity; and during nearly ten years of active evangelistic and pastoral labors by the preachers, who were gladly accepted as their ministers by the Churches and people, the united body had attained to an historical *status*, which vindicated its right to be. Its Annual Conferences were regular and canonical synods, endowed with all the rights and powers of scriptural "presbyteries"—associated bodies of divinely chosen ministers of Christ's Gospel who had also been providentially put into the ministry. This last fact completed their character as a Church, not only with their natural rights of Churchhood, but also with this their hitherto unused function now brought into actual use. But this was not to be the ending of their troubles, for it soon appeared

that Mr. Asbury was irreconcilably opposed to the action of the Conference, and that he was prepared to rend the body asunder rather than consent that the preachers should administer the sacraments. An able, devout, and self-sacrificing man beyond almost any other, he was also a man of strong convictions, which he might readily mistake for matters of conscience, and of an iron will. He was, no doubt, to the day of his death, a sacramentarian, believing in something like an *ex opere operato* effectiveness in the sacraments "duly administered," and he seems also to have recognized something of a sacramental character in the act of ordination to the ministry. Unlike John Wesley, therefore, but in agreement with Charles, he viewed the question of the "ordinances" as not simply one of *expediency*, to be determined by the godly judgment of the ministers, but much more one of scriptural *lawfulness*. He was, therefore, bound in his conscience to resist to the utmost the action of the Conference, and evidently he was determined as a last resort, if necessary, to make "a schism in the body." Among the leading spirits of the Fluvanna Conference were some who were scarcely his inferiors in any of his best characteristics; but they prized the peace and integrity of their infant Church too highly to permit them to be sacrificed, though compelled temporarily to hold in abeyance their Christian liberty.

At the next session of the Conference, out of deference to Mr. Asbury and those who stood with him, and to avert the threatened disruption of the body, it was agreed that the administration of the sacraments by the preachers should be suspended for one year. After that it does not appear that the subject was further discussed till at the settlement of the Church on Mr. Wesley's plan. The depth and violence of the controversy over the subject, which raged for several years in the infant Church, is but very faintly indicated in our Church histories, and evidently only the piety and unselfishness of the leaders of the majority in the Conference saved the body from a ruinous disruption. As it was, some of the best of them were so much dissatisfied that they retired quietly from the Conference—among whom was Philip Gatch, who never became a *traveling* minister of the Methodist *Episcopal* Church.

Returning from this episode in early Methodist history, we

may now observe what points seem to be ascertained. We have seen that from the beginning a divine call has been recognized as a necessary prerequisite to the assumption of the office and work of the ministry. The converse of this proposition, that a divine call duly ascertained, separating its subject from other believers, is of itself the best and only necessary warrant for such an assumption, was also generally accepted. And since "to preach the Gospel" is the highest function of the ministerial office—and further, since the possession of the chief function implies a right to the less—whoever may be found to be "called to preach" is also authorized to administer the sacraments. And, further, it seems that any number of Gospel ministers may associate themselves together for the better prosecution of their work, thus forming a scriptural *presbytery*, with power to order their united labors in the associated Churches over which the Holy Ghost may have made them overseers—*episcopoi*, bishops. All these things were present in American Methodism in 1779, and so it remained in *law*, if not in *fact*, till the "Christmas Conference." Nor did that Conference change any of these things, but rather confirmed them, and still further extended the organism by making two of its accepted ministers general superintendents in the Church.

Our present purpose does not call us to examine any of the various ecclesiastical questions that cluster about that unique affair, the third ordination of Dr. Coke by Mr. Wesley for the superintendence of the Methodist Church in America. The only points that concern our present purpose are the facts, 1. That Mr. Wesley had been appealed to by various persons prominent among the American Methodists, and importuned, if possible, to assist them in their perplexities; 2. That so called upon, he ordained Dr. Coke as a "superintendent" of the Societies in America, and also directed him to ordain Mr. Asbury in like manner, that the two might jointly superintend the American Methodist Church; 3. That the American ministers, in General Conference assembled, formally accepted Dr. Coke according to Mr. Wesley's designation, and also elected Mr. Asbury to be a joint superintendent with Dr. Coke; and at the same time they adopted a form of discipline, reducing their method of action and administration to a much better

defined system than had before been prescribed. The acceptance by them of Mr. Wesley's plan of Church government, and the election of superintendents, but very slightly changed the practical workings of their Church government. They had before had a superintendent among them, appointed by Wesley—Rankin—and afterward Asbury, who was first named by the meeting in Delaware, and afterward informally accepted by the others. No change was made in substance of their system, nor was their pre-existing organism disturbed; nor, indeed, was there fundamentally any new method of government adopted; but that which had before existed was thoroughly arranged as to its details. The Methodist Episcopal Church was not born at the Christmas Conference; it had then existed substantially for nearly twenty years, and the formal adoption of the episcopal form of administration, however valuable in practice, while it gave an additional prefix to its title, added nothing to its substance. Nor does the fact that some of those who had before claimed and exercised the full powers of the ministry now accepted imposition of hands argue any concession on their part that their former claims were invalid, for if their ministerial character was complete without that ceremony, its exercise upon them could do them no harm, even if it could do them no good.

The relation of the ceremony of the "imposition of hands" to the office of the ministry requires a passing notice. It is known that its use in receiving persons to that office has the sanction of patristic authority, though it is not certain that it was so used in any case by the apostles or their immediate successors. There are, indeed, in Scripture several instances given of its use for other purposes than appointment to the ministry. It was not much accounted of by the early reformers, and there is no proof that even Calvin was ever thus ceremonially "ordained." They who set in order the Wesleyan body in England, which its illustrious founder, dying, had left without any ecclesiastical arrangement, set no value upon it; and for more than forty years they made no use of it, though their "preachers" claimed and exercised all the functions of the Christian ministry. We have seen how this matter stood practically among the oldest class of Methodist preachers in America; but they have left us no discussions of the subject as

involving the necessity or otherwise of that ceremony in constituting a minister of the word of God. The only Methodistic examination of the subject that we have seen is by Dr. Charles Elliott, found in the first and second numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for 1839. In his introductory paragraph he thus summarizes his positions, which he proceeds to elaborate with characteristic fullness:—

"Many persons are accustomed to consider imposition of hands to be of the same import with ordination, though in truth they are of very different acceptations. Ordination is the constituting or appointing of ministers to their office; imposition of hands is only one of the ceremonies used on an ordination occasion, and stands in the same rank with reaching the Bible to the candidate, or any such rite; while it is inferior to the proper examination of the candidate's attainments, as well as to prayer, unless as imposition of hands may be itself a form of prayer. We have no fault to find with the use of this in the ritual of ordination, *though we have an irreconcilable warfare against it as an essential part of ministerial ordination*, and much more so when it is made the principal part of ordination, or when it is converted into ordination itself."

In his further discussions Dr. E. shows that imposition of hands was not used in the apostolic Church in the appointment of apostles, or evangelists, nor in ordaining bishops, elders, or pastors, but that it was employed in the appointment of deacons, or servants of the Church, who were not ministers of the word. "Imposition of hands," he remarks, "in selecting to the ministry of the Gospel, *is not* taught by precept or example in the Scriptures. It is merely of *ecclesiastical use*, and may be used or not as the Church of God directs." In another place, after passing over the historical arguments in the case, he concludes "*that in appointing the chief or principal ministers in the Christian Church imposition of hands is not necessary or enjoined by Scripture precept or example.*" And again, "*It might* without invalidity or irregularity be disused by the Church. Yet it may be used to advantage when stripped of the garb *of* INCANTATION *with which it has been for the most part invested.*"

In respect to the prerogative to call men to the ministerial office, and the power to qualify them for their work, Dr.

Elliott further concludes:—"It is God who must call men by his Spirit, and then qualify them for their great work. . . . The Spirit calls, gives authority, qualifies the persons called, and blesses their labors. The Church can only *discern* and *recognize* the person thus called and qualified. . . . Thus far they can go, and no farther." This statement, though so broad and sweeping, is the utterance of one of the chiefs of our Israel, and, having found a place in an official organ of the Church without any sign of dissent, then or afterward, it would seem to have expressed the prevailing convictions of the Church at that time. Here we may also introduce a brief extract from a contemporary Methodist authority, touching this subject: "John Wesley's preachers, being called of God, were as much ministers of Christ, and as much entitled to administer the sacraments of the Church without the imposition of hands, as with it. . . . To contend that the thing itself is necessary would be to condemn the grand old Methodist preachers who flourished from the year 1795, when their administration was authorized by the Methodist Conference, to the year 1836, when for the first time ordination by imposition of hands was solemnly enacted."—TYERMAN'S "*Wesley*," vol. iii, pp. 448.

Methodist writers who have sought to defend by a logical process, and consistently with ecclesiastical precedents, the ecclesiastical descent of our Church orders, have attempted a difficult task. Just what was Mr. Wesley's theory when he ordained Dr. Coke a bishop, (if ever he so intended,) it is impossible to determine with certainty. He rejected the apostolical succession almost spitefully and with a sneer, as something that he *knew* to be a fable: and he contended that he was himself as good an *episcopos* as any man in England. Did he mean that any presbyter of the Church of England was as good a bishop, scripturally, as any bishop or archbishop in the realm? Then was not Dr. Coke such an *episcopos* before he received his third ordination at the hands of Wesley and his associates? And if Dr. Coke was already a "bishop," by virtue of his ordination to the "priesthood" or eldership, why subject him to another ordination? Possibly Mr. Wesley considered his case an entirely exceptional one, (and with him exceptional meant *providential*,) so that he was somehow, over and beyond ordinary presbyters of the English Church, raised to a superior

order, as to the Methodist Societies, which, against his own intentions, had now grown to be an inchoate Church. The argument drawn from Lord King's book respecting the practice of the Church at Alexandria fails to meet this case, for that was evidently an independent local Church, which on the decease of its bishop or pastor elected a successor, whom their own office-bearers—such as are now counted laymen—set apart for his office by appropriate forms.

A still better theory would be to say that the episcopacy is, essentially and always, the creature of the presbytery, and that, therefore, it was lawful for Wesley and his clerical associates to originate an episcopacy for American Methodism, (and, as they afterward attempted to do, for British Methodism,) and to ordain Dr. Coke to it. They called him a "superintendent;" but he and his associates and successors called themselves *bishops;* and the whole Church has followed their example. And to all this we make no objection, though we may attach very little value to it. It may have been useful in overcoming a superstitious deference to a mere form, (and so served a good purpose in uniting the distracted Methodist body in America,) but not to give a valid ministry to American Methodism. Here, again, we may, without any abatement of respect for Mr. Wesley, adopt the words of Mr. Tyerman: "All things considered, this was not surprising, *but it was absurd.* Great allowance must be made for Wesley; but to reconcile Wesley's practice and profession . . . is simply impossible."

We next turn to the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church respecting this matter. Until 1840 there does not appear to have been any provision by which a minister coming to us from another denomination could be received in his ministerial character. Probably before that time there had been very few applications. But in that year it was enacted that "Ministers that may come to us from the *Wesleyan Connection* in Europe or Canada . . . may be received, . . . according to such [their] credentials." At that time only a few recently admitted Wesleyan ministers had received imposition of hands; and yet any one coming from that body, duly authenticated, was to be accepted as a fully accredited minister of the Gospel. At the same date (1840) a provision was inserted in our Discipline respecting "those ministers who

may offer to unite with us from other Christian Churches," by which they might be received according to our usages, "without the reimposition of hands." This was evidently designed to admit all such ministers to the same ministerial standing with us that they had held among those from whom they came, without any inquisition as to the form, the regularity, or the validity of their former ordinations; though some may have been ordained with the laying on of the hands of a presbytery or association of ministers, others by non-ministerial office-bearers, and still others by the simple recognition of the Church without any special ceremony. Some of the minor Methodist bodies in both Europe and America make no use of imposition of hands in receiving and sending out ministers; and if from any of these bodies such ministers "offer to unite with us," they are received, unquestioned as to the ceremonies by which they were at first recognized as ministers of the Gospel. Almost certainly there are now, in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, some upon whose heads no hands have been laid in sign of ministerial ordination; but the Church's law accounts them good and valid ministers.

We have used the term METHODISM as the comprehensive designation of all those truly awakened and spiritually renewed persons that became at first the subjects of the great "religious movement of the eighteenth century," and also those who in later times have received the same precious faith. Organically, Methodism includes all of the various ecclesiastical organizations into which those converts have been gathered, and who have maintained the great fundamental element of solidarity, a consolidated churchship with a common pastorate—that is, an itinerant ministry. Wherever these two conditions are found—a converted membership and a consolidated ministry—there the essential conditions of Methodism are fulfilled; all bodies that have them are genuine and legitimate branches of the great Methodist family. By distinctness of ecclesiastical individuality, originating from a variety of causes, the number of Methodist organizations have been multiplied, though all of them have, with remarkable tenacity, held fast to the two great essentials; and by the latter all kinds of Methodist bodies are at once identified with the common brotherhood, and contradistinguished from all others. And if, as may

be realized somewhere in the future, all the branches of universal Methodism shall come to formally confess each other in their common relations, these must be the criteria by which they will be recognized.

From an early point in the history of each the two chief bodies of Methodism became specifically unlike in their several forms of ecclesiastical arrangements. British Methodists, having been governed for half a century by the sole authority of one truly great and wonderful man, after his death persistently refused to have any one man raised above the common level of his brethren, in official position or administrative authority; and wherever they have gone forth carrying the Gospel to foreign lands,—in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, and elsewhere—this peculiarity of their ecclesiasticism has been jealously maintained. And so of all the numerous offshoots from the parent body at home or abroad, all of them pertinaciously assert and maintain ministerial parity, and, as far as possible, insist upon rotation in office, with only brief terms of their service.

In America a somewhat different system was early adopted, which has been steadily maintained, with but slight changes to the present time. Under the advice of Mr. Wesley the American Methodist Church accepted for itself a general superintendency—which has come to be known as an episcopacy—and so the chief body of American Methodists is known as the Methodist *Episcopal* Church. It is a question of the least possible importance, what is the source of the Methodist Episcopacy? for, unquestionably the men of the "Christmas Conference" were free to order their own affairs, so that the cause of God should suffer no harm; and they put it in their "Articles of Religion" that "every particular Church may *ordain*, change, or *abolish* rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification." In the exercise of this right, the fathers of American Methodism "ordained" for themselves an episcopal form of government, and so well has their work operated for "edification," that their sons in the Gospel thankfully confess their good work. And as sons worthy of such a parentage, the Methodists of to-day believe that no part of their birthright has been sold away from them; and as their fathers in the exercise of their Christian liberty "ordained" the Methodist episcopacy, so in the exercise

of some God-given and inalienable rights they still decline to abolish it, but rather elect to preserve it without fundamental "change." And when other and independent bodies have been organized as offshoots from the parent stock, they too have, (most of them, but not all,) provided an episcopacy for themselves. Organic Methodism is founded on, and pervaded by, the idea of ministerial party, because it accepts the great doctrine of a divine call to the ministry. But it also claims that in the exercise of the authority given by the Head of the Church, his ministers may choose such specific forms of organization as shall seem best adapted to promote the great end for which the Church of God subsists, to wit, to spread scriptural holiness. In doing this the two oldest Methodisms adopted systems varying somewhat in minor and incidental matters; but both retained all that is essential. Both have gone on, side by side, maintaining "the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace," and God has bestowed upon them equal honors in the wonderful success with which he has crowned their labors, and also those of the many kindred and derived bodies of Methodists in both countries, and in foreign lands. And now at the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century Methodism stands forth, girded with divine power and prepared to effect vastly more for the salvation of the world than in all her past.

Art. VII.—GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

DEFENSE OF ITS ACTION IN THE CASE OF BISHOP ANDREW.*

As the proceedings of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew were not judicial, its decision has gone forth to the public unaccompanied by the reasons and facts upon which this action was founded. This deficiency is but partially supplied by the published reports of the debate on the subject. The

* In view of the possible discussions that may arise in the next General Conference, we republish the "Reply of the General Conference of 1844 to the Protest by the Southern Delegations against the Action in the Andrew Case." The Protest was by Dr. Bascom, and this reply by Dr. Durbin, as chairman of a committee including, besides himself, George Peck and Charles Elliott. It is a fair refutation of Dr. Myers's book, noticed upon another page.

speakers who advocated the resolution were restrained by a praiseworthy delicacy from all avoidable allusions which might give pain to the respected individual concerned, or awaken unpleasant emotions in any quarter. It is but natural that under these circumstances some misunderstanding should prevail as to the merits of the case. The following statement, it is believed, contains nothing, at least so far as facts are concerned, which will not be cheerfully confirmed by all parties, and will throw light upon the true position of the authors of the Protest.

From the first institution of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church no slaveholder has been elected to that dignity, though in several instances candidates otherwise eminently fitted for the station have failed of success solely on account of this impediment. Since the period referred to, nine bishops have been elected who were natives of the United States. Of these, only three have been northern men, while six were natives of slaveholding States. Not one, however, was a slaveholder—a remarkable fact, which shows very clearly that, while much more than their just claim has been conceded to the slaveholding portions of the Church, a decided and uniform repugnance has, from the first, been felt and manifested to the occupancy of that high office by a slaveholder.

It is known and acknowledged by all southern brethren that Bishop Andrew was nominated by the delegates from the South Carolina and Georgia Conferences as a southern candidate for whom northern men might vote without doing violence to their principles, as he was no slaveholder. Bishop Andrew himself perfectly understood the ground of his election. Since the year 1832 the antislavery sentiment in the Church, as well as in the whole civilized world, has constantly and rapidly gained ground, and within the last year or two it has been roused to a special and most earnest opposition to the introduction of a slaveholder into the episcopal office—an event which many were led to fear by certain intimations, published in the "Southern Christian Advocate," the "Richmond Christian Advocate," and perhaps some other Methodist periodicals. This opposition produced the profoundest anxiety through most of the non-slaveholding conferences. The subject was discussed every-where, and the dreaded event universally deprecated as the most fearful calamity that ever threatened the Church.

Many conferences instructed their delegates to use all possible means to avert such an evil. Other conferences, and many thousand laymen, sent up petitions and memorials to the same effect to the present General Conference. Such was the state of sentiment and of apprehension in the northern portion of the Church, when the delegates to the General Conference learned, on reaching this city, that Bishop Andrew had become a slaveholder. The profound grief, the utter dismay, which was produced by this astounding intelligence can be fully appreciated only by those who have participated in the distressing scenes which have since been enacted in the General Conference.

When the first emotions of surprise and sorrow had so far subsided as to allow of sober thought and inquiry, it was ascertained that Bishop Andrew had been a slaveholder for several years. Soon after his election to the episcopacy a lady of Augusta bequeathed him a female slave, on condition that she should be sent to Liberia at nineteen years of age if her consent to emigrate could be obtained—otherwise she was to be made as free as the laws of Georgia would permit. She refused to emigrate, has since married, and is now enjoying all the privileges provided for in the will of her former mistress; she is, and must be, a slave—she and her children—and liable to all that may befall slaves. Another slave Bishop Andrew has inherited from the mother of his former wife, and by his recent marriage he has become the owner of (it was said on the floor of the General Conference) fourteen or fifteen more. These belonged to Mrs. Andrew in her own right before her marriage. That act, according to the laws of Georgia, made them the property of Bishop Andrew, to keep or dispose of as he pleased. He conveyed them to a trustee, for the joint use of himself and wife, of whom the survivor is to be the sole owner. This conveyance was made for the security of Mrs. Andrew, and with no view either to satisfy or to mislead the opinions of the northern Church. So much, at least, Bishop Andrew was understood to say to the conference. His known integrity forbids the suspicion that he would attempt to disguise the real character of the transaction; and the fact that the earnings of the slaves, as well as the reversionary title to them, are his, demonstrates that this arrangement was not made with any view to satisfy the well-known sentiments of

the Church against a slaveholding bishop. It is manifest from this statement, which is believed to be strictly correct, that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is, not as the Protest intimates, merely an "assumption," but that he is the owner of slaves in the full and proper sense of that term. His title was acquired by bequest, by inheritance, and by marriage, which are by far the most common grounds of ownership in slaves. All the usual and necessary conditions of slavery have their fulfillment in the relation of these persons to Bishop Andrew. Their labor and their earnings are subject to his control, and inure to his benefit and that of his family. They are now liable, or they may be hereafter, to be sold; they and their offspring are doomed, as the case now stands, to a bondage that is perpetual, and they are liable and likely to descend to his heirs. Beyond all reasonable doubt, the condition of Bishop Andrew's slaves will be attended, while he lives, with all the alleviations—and these are many and great—which a very benevolent and Christian master can provide. Still it must be slavery. In the view of the law of the land, and of the law of the Discipline, in all its more weighty and permanent consequences to the bondman, it is and must be slavery. It was said repeatedly on the floor of the conference, that the deed of trust had put it quite beyond Bishop Andrew's power to free his slaves, even if there were no other obstacle. So then, should the stringent laws of Georgia against emancipation be relaxed or repealed by her next legislature, the rule of the Discipline, which would then become imperative on Bishop Andrew, could not, and would not, be satisfied, and the Church must still have a slaveholding bishop, in spite not only of its known will, but of its standing laws.

It was the almost unanimous opinion of the delegates from the non-slaveholding conferences that Bishop Andrew could not continue to exercise his episcopal functions under existing circumstances without producing results extensively disastrous to the Church in the North, and from this opinion the brethren of the South did not dissent. For a while the hope was entertained that the difficulty would be quietly removed by his resigning his office, which it was known he had previously desired to do. But this hope was dissipated by the intelligence that the delegates from the conferences in the slaveholding States

had been convened, and that they had advised him unanimously not to resign. Various efforts were then made in private to devise some method to relieve the case, but they all proved abortive, and nothing remained but that it must come before the General Conference. The bishops themselves, in their united Address to the conference, had urged it to ascertain whether there had been any departure from the essential principles "of the general itinerant superintendency," and had declared of that superintendency that "the plan of its operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan, or sectional.* Consequently any division of the work into districts, or otherwise, so as to create a particular charge, with any other view, or in any order, than as a prudential measure to secure to all the conferences the annual visits of the superintendents, would be an innovation on the system"—that "*our superintendency must be itinerant, and not local:*"—that "it was wisely provided in the system of Methodism, from its very foundation, that it should be the duty of the superintendents '*to travel through the connection at large.*'" The question then presented itself, how the case of Bishop Andrew could be so disposed of as to preserve this itinerant general superintendency? If the General Conference had even been disposed to evade it, the consideration of it was forced upon them by the episcopal Address itself.

A diversity of sentiment existed as to the proper method of treating the case.

Some, at least, believed—perhaps few doubted—that sufficient ground existed for impeachment on a charge of "improper conduct," under the express provisions of the Discipline. The opinion was certainly entertained in several quarters that it was "improper" for the shepherd and bishop of eleven hundred thousand souls either deliberately or heedlessly to place himself in direct and irreconcilable conflict with the known and cherished moral sentiments of a large majority of his vast flock. Such, however, was the prevalence of moderate counsels, that no proposal was made either to impeach or punish, and such the controlling influence of forbearance and kindness, that it is believed not one word was uttered during the entire debate of nearly a fortnight derogatory to the character, or justly offensive to the feelings, of Bishop Andrew. The transaction

which had brought such distress upon the Church, and threatened such extensive ruin, was dealt with merely as a fact—as a practical difficulty—for the removal or palliation of which it was the duty of the General Conference to provide. It was in this spirit, and for such ends, that the following preamble and resolution were passed:—

Whereas, the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which in the estimation of the General Conference will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains. J. B. Finley,
J. M. Trimble.

The action of the General Conference was neither judicial nor punitive. It neither achieves nor intends a deposition, nor so much as a legal suspension. Bishop Andrew is still a bishop; and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid.

Such are the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew. We now proceed to notice the law. Nearly all the objections raised in the Protest against the action of the General Conference may be reduced to two, namely: that that body has violated the *constitutional* and the *statutory* law of the Church. That it has violated the constitutional law the Protest attempts to prove by representing its late action as a breach of what it calls "the compromise law of the Church on the subject of slavery;" meaning, as is supposed, the section on slavery, particularly that paragraph which relates to traveling preachers. The entire language on this subject is evidently formed so as to make the impression on any reader not intimately acquainted with the history and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that there has been some period (whether 1804 or 1816 does not clearly appear from the Protest) when the question of slavery was settled in the Methodist Episcopal Church as it was in the general government at the adoption of the fed-

eral constitution: that "the confederating annual conferences," "after a vexed and protracted negotiation," met in convention, and the section on slavery "was finally agreed to by the parties, after a long and fearful struggle," as "a compact," "a treaty," which cannot be altered by the General Conference until certain constitutional restrictions are removed. So that now any interference on the part of that body with the question of slavery in the southern conferences is as unconstitutional as it is admitted would be the interference of the general government with the question in the southern States.

After the boldness with which this doctrine is advanced, and the confidence with which it is relied upon as "the first and principal ground occupied by the minority in this Protest," it will be difficult for the uninitiated to believe that it is as unfounded in fact as it is ingenuous in its "legal casuistry." It is indeed true, that the question of slavery has been long and anxiously agitated in the Church, and the various General Conferences had endeavored to adjust the matter so as to promote the greatest good of all parties; but this very fact goes to disprove the position assumed in the Protest: for, as the attention of the Church had been thus strongly called to the subject, if it had been the intention to guard the question of slavery by constitutional provisions, it would have been done when the Church actually did meet to frame a constitution. But nothing of the kind appears. For when, in 1808, it was resolved that the General Conference, instead of consisting, as before, of all the traveling elders, should be a delegated body, and when it was determined that that body (unlike the general government, which has no powers but such as are expressly conferred) should have all powers but such as are expressly taken away, when this vast authority was about to be given to the General Conference, among "the limitations and restrictions" imposed, *there is not one word on the subject of slavery; nor was any attempt made to introduce any such restriction.* The only provision anywhere established by that General Conference of constitutional force, was the general rule forbidding the buying and selling of human beings with an intention to enslave them. So that, in direct opposition to the assertion of the Protest, we maintain that the section on slavery is "a mere legislative enactment, a simple decree of a General Conference," as much

under its control as any other portion of the Discipline not covered by the Restrictive Rules. If additional proof of the truth of this position were needed, it might be adduced in the fact that that section which the Protest represents to have been settled in 1804 was not only altered at the General Conference or convention of 1808, but also at the delegated General Conferences of 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. And although the Protest speaks of it as "*usually known*" by the name of "the compromise act," the greater part of this General Conference have never heard either that appellation or that character ascribed to it until the present occasion.

But although this General Conference cannot admit that any portion of the section on slavery is constitutional in its character, and therefore could not under any circumstances allow the imputation of the Protest that they have violated the constitution of the Church, yet they do admit that it is *law*—law, too, which the General Conference (though possessing full powers in the premises) has never altered except at the above periods, and then, in each instance, for the further indulgence of the South. The question then comes up, whether this General Conference, as the Protest maintains, has in effect suddenly reversed the legislation of the Church, not indeed by altering the law, but by practically disregarding it. The portion of the law particularly in question is the following paragraph:—

"When any traveling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives."

This, it is alleged, fully covers the case of Bishop Andrew, and therefore he ought to have been left in the quiet and unquestioned enjoyment of his rights. Were it even true that proceedings, either judicial or "extra-judicial," have been had in his case, we should not hesitate to join issue here, and maintain that this law does not protect him. The Protest asks, "Is there any thing in the law or its reasons creating an exception in the instance of bishops?" We answer, There is in both. So far as judicial proceedings are concerned, the Discipline divides the Church into four classes—private members, local preachers, traveling preachers, and bishops—and establishes

distinct tribunals, and different degrees of responsibility for each. The section on slavery applies only to officers of the Church, and therefore private members are not named at all, but special provision is made in the case of local and traveling preachers. How happens it that bishops are not named at all? Are they necessarily included in the title "traveling preachers?" In common parlance they may sometimes be thus designated, but in the Discipline it is not so understood, even in regard to matters much less important than this, in evidence of which we need only advert to the fact that the General Conference of 1836 did not consider that the allowance of bishops was provided for under the general title of "traveling preachers," and they therefore inserted them accordingly. To explain why no mention is made of "bishops," it is not necessary, as the Protest supposes, "to slander the virtuous dead of the North," as if they excluded them intentionally "by a resort to deceptive and dishonorable means." It is a much more natural and reasonable explanation, that at that day, when the Church could hardly tolerate slavery in any class of the ministry, "the virtuous dead," both of the North and of the South, did not dream that it would ever find its way into the episcopacy.

But though the *language* of the law does not include bishops, yet if the "reason" and spirit of it did, we might be disposed to allow them the benefit of it. But this is not the case. The whole tenor of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church is adverse to slavery. Even the Protest has admitted (irreconcilable as the admission is with another portion of the same instrument) that, at the time of the alleged "compact," "the whole Church, by common consent, united in proper effort for the *mitigation and final removal* of the evil of slavery." But let the Discipline speak for itself. The mildest form in which the question at the head of the section on slavery has ever been expressed is the present, namely: "What shall be done for the *extirpation* of the evil of slavery?" And the very conference of 1804, which enacted the so-called "compromise law," as well as that of 1800, when the paragraph relating to traveling preachers was really adopted, were each convened under a request from the preceding General Conference, that the whole Church would aid that body in obtaining "full light

in order to take further steps toward *eradicating this enormous evil* from that part of the Church of God to which they are united." It is obvious, therefore, that connection with slavery is tolerated no further than seems necessary. In the case of ordinary traveling preachers there appeared to be a necessity for some indulgence. They might become owners of slaves in the providence of God, the laws of the States might not allow emancipation; and they had no power to choose their own place of residence. But no such "reason" could apply to a bishop, for he has always been allowed to live where he pleases. Again: traveling preachers encumbered with slaves labor among people similarly situated, and who would not, therefore, be likely to object to them on that account. But a bishop, by the *constitution* of the Church, is required to labor in every part of the connection; and in by far the larger portion of it the services of a slaveholding bishop would not be acceptable. So here again the "reason" of the case does not apply to a bishop. There is not, therefore, as the Protest so roundly asserts, any "express" or "specific law" in the case; and therefore, as the Protest itself admits, "in the absence of law it might be competent for the General Conference to act on other grounds." With the failure to prove any "specific law" authorizing a bishop to hold slave property, the third and fourth arguments of the Protest, which are founded on this assumption, fail also.

But, perhaps, it is not so much the law of the Discipline which the Protest claims to cover Bishop Andrew as the law of the land. For it declares, "The rights of the legal owners of slaves in all the slaveholding States are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and by the local constitutions of the States respectively, as the supreme law of the land, to which every minister and member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, within the limits of the United States government, professes subjection, and pledges himself to submit, as an article of the Christian faith, in the common creed of the Church." If by this is meant that the law of the land *allows* citizens to hold slaves, it is admitted. But so also it allows them to keep theaters and grog-shops, so that this is no ground of argument. But if it mean that the law of the land *requires* citizens to keep slaves, (the only interpretation which can make the argument

available,) it is denied. And until it can be shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church, by its action, legislative, judicial, or executive, requires any citizen to do what the law of the land requires him not to do, it is unjust to attempt to get up popular clamor against it, as if it came in conflict with the civil authority.

This course of reasoning has been pursued thus far, not so much because it was deemed necessary for the vindication of the conference, as to avoid sanctioning, by silence, the erroneous exposition which the Protest presents of the constitution and laws of the Church. For it has been already seen that Bishop Andrew has been subjected to no trial, and no penalty has been inflicted. At present, it is plain that the conference has done nothing to depose, or even suspend, Bishop Andrew. His name will appear in official publications with those of the other bishops, and with them he will derive his support from the funds of the Church. In order to make out that the General Conference had no right to take such action as they have in Bishop Andrew's case, the authors of the Protest have been driven to the necessity of claiming for the Methodist episcopacy powers and prerogatives never advanced before, except by those who wished to make it odious, and which have always been repudiated by its chosen champions. The Protest maintains that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch of the government;" for which no argument is adduced save this—that it is, in general, the province of bishops to ordain bishops. A sufficient answer to which may be found in the principle of Methodist polity, stated in the Address of the Bishops to the present General Conference, that orders (the principle applies to bishops, though not expressly named, as well as to elders and deacons) are "conferred" by the election, and only "confirmed" by the ordination; and that when the election has been made, the bishop "has no discretional authority, but is under *obligation* to ordain the person elected, whatever may be his own judgment of his qualifications." And if all the bishops should refuse to ordain the person elected by the General Conference, that body would unquestionably have the right to appoint any three elders to ordain him, as is provided "in case there be no bishop remaining in our Church." The Protest declares that "the bishops are beyond doubt an inte-

gral, constituent part of the General Conference, made such by law and the constitution. If the words "General Conference" be not a mere clerical error, the assertion is sufficiently refuted by the answer in the Discipline to the question, "Who shall compose the General Conference?" and by the practice of the bishops themselves, who disclaim a right to give even a casting vote, or even to speak in General Conference, except by permission. The Protest maintains, that "in a sense, by no means unimportant, the General Conference is as much the *creature* of the episcopacy, as the bishops are the creatures of the General Conference." The proof adduced for which is, that "constitutionally the bishops alone have the right to fix the time of holding the annual conferences; and should they refuse, or neglect to do so, no Annual Conference could meet according to law; and, by consequence, no delegates could be chosen, and no General Conference could be chosen, or even exist." That is to say, because, for the convenience of the bishops in performing their tour, they are allowed to say *at what time in the year* an Annual Conference shall meet; therefore they have the power to prevent such body from meeting at all, though, from its very name, it must meet once a year! —that, by preventing the meeting of Annual Conferences, they might prevent the organization of any General Conference; and thus, escaping all accountability for their delinquencies, might continue to lord it over God's heritage, until themselves and the Church should die a natural death. We can easily perceive, were this reasoning legitimate, that the bishops might *destroy*, not only the General Conference, but the Church; but are at a loss to discover how it proves that they can *create* either. We must protest against having any argument of ours adduced as analogous to this.

The Protest maintains that "the General Conference has no right, power, or authority, ministerial, judicial, or administrative," in any way to subject a bishop "to any official disability whatever, without the formal presentation of a charge or charges alleging that the bishop to be dealt with has been guilty of the violation of some law, or at least some disciplinary obligation of the Church, and also upon conviction of such charge, after due form of trial." To those who are not familiar with the Methodist economy, this might seem plausible.

But it is, in reality, an attempt to except, from the action of a general system, those who, least of all, ought to be excepted. The cardinal feature of our polity is the itinerancy.

To sustain this system, it is essential that the classes should receive the leaders that are appointed by the preacher, that the societies should receive the preachers that are stationed over them by the bishops, that the Annual Conferences should receive the bishops that are sent to them by the General Conference. Unless, therefore, the utmost care be taken by those who have authority in the premises that these parties shall severally be acceptable to those among whom they labor, there is great danger that those who are injured by such neglect may seek redress by revolutionary measures. For this reason, the officers of the Methodist Church are subjected regularly to an examination unknown, it is believed, among other denominations. Not only is provision made for formal trials, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, but there is a special arrangement for the correction of other obstructions to official usefulness. At every Annual Conference the character of every traveling preacher is examined; at every General Conference that of every bishop. And the object is to ascertain not merely whether there is ground for the formal presentation of charges, with a view to a regular trial; but whether there is any "objection"—any thing that might interfere with the acceptance of the officer in question among his charge. And it is doctrine novel and dangerous in the Methodist Church, that such difficulties cannot be corrected unless the person objected to be formally arraigned under some specific law, to be found in the concise code of the Discipline—doctrine not the less dangerous, because it is applied where "objections," unimportant in others, might be productive of the most disastrous consequences. Will the Methodist Church sanction the doctrine that, while all its other officers, of whatever name or degree, are subjected to a sleepless supervision; are counseled, admonished, or changed, as "necessity may require, and as the Discipline directs," a bishop, who decides all questions of law in Annual Conferences; who, of his mere motion and will, controls the work and the destiny of four thousand ministers; who appoints and changes at pleasure the spiritual guides of four millions of souls; that the depositary of these vast powers,

whose slightest indiscretions or omissions are likely to disturb the harmony, and even impair the efficiency, of our mighty system of operations, enjoys a virtual impunity for all delinquencies or misdoings not strictly criminal?

It is believed that an attempt to establish such an episcopal supremacy would fill not only a part, but the whole of the Church "with alarm and dismay." But this doctrine is not more at variance with the genius of Methodism than it is with the express language of the Discipline, and the exposition of it by all our standard writers. The constitution of the Church provides that the "General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church" under six "limitations and restrictions," among which the only one relating to the episcopacy is this: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." As there is nothing in the Restrictive Rules to limit the full powers of the General Conference in the premises, so is there nothing in the special provision respecting the responsibility of a bishop. In reply to the question, "To whom is a bishop amenable for his conduct?" the Discipline declares, "To the General Conference, who have power to expel him for improper conduct if they see it necessary." And this, be it remembered, is all that is said respecting the jurisdiction over a bishop, with the exception of a rule for his trial, in the interval of a General Conference, if he be guilty of immorality. In full accordance with the plain meaning of these provisions is the language of all the standard writers on Methodist polity.

Bishop Emory—a man of whom it is no injustice to the living or the dead to say, that he was a chief ornament and light of our episcopacy; that he brought to the investigation of all ecclesiastical subjects a cool, sagacious, powerful, practical intellect—fully sustains the positions we have assumed in behalf of the powers of the General Conference over the bishops of our Church. He gives an unqualified assent to the following passages from the notes to the Discipline, prepared by Bishops Asbury and Coke at the request of the General Conference:—"They (our bishops) are entirely dependent on the General Conference:" "their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference."

Dr. Emory also quotes some passages from a pamphlet, by the Rev. John Dickens, which, he says, was published by the unanimous request of the Philadelphia Conference, and may be considered as expressing the views both of that conference and of Bishop Asbury, his intimate friend. Mr. Dickens affirms that the bishops derive their power from the election of the General Conference, and not from their ordination; and that the conference has, on that ground, power to remove Bishop Asbury, and appoint another, "if they see it necessary." He affirms that Bishop Asbury "derived his official power from the conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal"—Mr. Asbury was "responsible to the General Conference, who had power to remove him if they saw it necessary;" "he is liable every year to be removed."

The above quotations show very clearly the sentiments of Asbury, and Coke, and Dickens on this question—men chiefly instrumental in laying the foundations of our polity.

Equally clear and satisfactory is the testimony of another venerable bishop, who still lives, in the full exercise of his mental powers and benignant influence, to guide and bless the Church:—"The superintendents now have no power in the Church above that of elders, except what is connected with presiding in the conference, fixing the appointments of the preachers, and ordaining:"—"They are the servants of the elders, and go out and execute their commands:"—"The General Conference may expel a bishop not only for immoral, but for '*improper* conduct,' which means a small offense below a crime; for which not even a child or a slave can be expelled but after repeated admonitions:"—"The traveling preachers gave the bishop his power, they continue it in his hands, and they can reduce, limit, or transfer it to other hands, whenever they see cause." Such is the language of Bishop Hedding, who only concurs in the moderate, truly Methodistic views of Bishops Asbury, Coke, and Emory.

It is believed that this statement of the facts and the law in the case will afford a satisfactory answer to all the positions and reasonings of the Protest; and, after having thus presented it, the majority are perfectly willing to abide "the decision of our contemporaries and of posterity." They cannot, however, close these remarks without expressing their regret that the

minority, not content with protesting against the action of the General Conference, as "lawless," as "without law, and contrary to law," as such "a violation of the compromise law," that "the public faith of this body can no longer be relied upon as the guarantee for the redemption of the pledge," "that there shall be no further curtailment of right as regards *the southern ministry;*" that, not content with thus harshly assailing the proceedings of the General Conference, they have even refused to the bishops, whom they have invested with such exalted prerogatives, the quiet possession of their thoughts and feelings; and have thrown out the significant intimation, "that any bishop of the Church, either violating or submitting to the violation of the compromise charter of union between the North and South, without proper and public remonstrance, cannot be acceptable in the South, and *need not appear there.*" We shall be slow to believe, that even their constituents will justify them in thus virtually deposing, not one bishop only, but several, by a process which is even worse than "extra-judicial."

When all the law, and the facts in the case, shall have been spread before an impartial community, the majority have no doubt that they *will* fix "*the responsibility of division,*" should such an unhappy event take place, "where in justice it *belongs.*" They will ask, Who first introduced slavery into the episcopacy? And the answer will be, *Not the General Conference.* Who opposed the attempt to withdraw it from the episcopacy? *Not the General Conference.* Who resisted the measure of peace that was proposed—the mildest that the case allowed? *Not the majority.* Who first sounded the knell of division, and declared that it would be impossible longer to remain under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church? *Not the majority.*

The proposition for a peaceful separation, (if any must take place,) with which the Protest closes, though strangely at variance with much that precedes, has already been met by the General Conference. And the readiness with which that body (by a vote which would doubtless have been unanimous but for the belief that some entertained of the unconstitutionality of the measure) granted all that the southern brethren themselves could ask, in such an event, must forever stand as a

practical refutation of any assertion that the minority have been subjected to the tyranny of a majority.

Finally, we cannot but hope that the minority, after reviewing the entire action of the conference, will find that, both in their Declaration and their Protest, they have taken too strong a view of the case; and that by presenting it in its true light before their people, they may be able to check any feelings of discord that may have arisen, so that the Methodist Episcopal Church may still continue as one body, engaged in its proper work of "spreading scriptural holiness over these lands."

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, October, 1875. (Philadelphia.)—1. Romans VII, 7–25. 2. Arnold's Literature and Dogma. 3. The Missionary Future in the Light of Prophecy. 4. Renan's Antichrist. 5. John, the Apostle, and his Writings. 6. Exegetical Studies.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Eclectic, October, 1875. (Andover.)—1. Jesus and the Resurrection. 2. The Indorsement of the Septuagint. 3. Recent Critical Treatment of the Psalter. 4. The Early British and Irish Churches. 5. Consciousness. 6. Words in New Testament Greek Borrowed from the Latin. 7. Recent Assyrian Discoveries. 8. Decline of Rationalism in the German Universities. 9. Dr. Burton on Metaphysics.

Christian Quarterly, October, 1875. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Struggle between Church and State in Germany. 2. The Ground of Obligation and Norm of Right. 3. Christ and Antichrist. 4. The Family as Typical of the State. 5. The Three Great Questions of the Age.

Congregational Quarterly, October, 1875. (Boston.)—1. David Choate. 2. Exegesis of Genesis xlix. 22–26. 3. Dogma and Liberalism. 4. The Sacraments: Who may administer them. 5. Absent Members, and what to do with them. 6. Ministry and Churches of New Hampshire. 7. Congregational Necrology.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1875. (Boston.)—1. An Address on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting of the Provincial Legislature in Salem, Oct. 5, 1774. 2. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. 3. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Fight in Concord, April 19, 1775. 4. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. 5. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of Washington's Taking Command of the Continental Army, July 3, 1775. 6. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774. 7. Proceedings at Centennial Commemorations, 1874–5.

Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, October, 1875. (New York.)—1. Presbyterian Elements of our Nationality. 2. Civil and Religious Liberty in Turkey. 3. The Right of a Prosecutor to Appeal. 4. The Law of Appeal in the Presbyterian Church. 5. "God in Human Thought." 6. The Hornets of Scripture. 7. Textual and Topical Preaching Compared. 8. Simon's Mistake—Luke vii. 36–50. 9. The Sabbath, and How to Observe It. 10. The Currency Question.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, October, 1875 (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Relation and Duties of Educators to Crime. 2. The Lord's Supper. 3. Consecration in the Ministry. 4. What is a Fundamental Doctrine? 5. Erasmus and Luther. 6 Hebrews xiii, 10. 7. Collegiate Education. 8. General Synod. 9. The Work of the Review.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1875. (Baltimore.)—1. The Ninth Chapter of Romans. 2. The Times of George III. 3. Bacon's Philosophy. 4. New France and her New England Historians. 5. Termites. 6. James Russell Lowell. 7. The Ground of Right.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. Servum Arbitrium. 2. The Epistle to the Hebrews. 3. On the Relation of God to the World. 4. The Course of the Church in Prussia during the Present Century. 5. Jephthah's Vow. 6. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the Reformation in Scotland.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. "Religious Art." 2. The Atomic Theory of Lucretius. 3. The Poetry of Alfred Tennyson. 4. The Etruscans and their Language. 5. The Boarding-Out of Pauper Orphans. 6. Modern Necromancy. 7. Isaac Casaubon.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. The Financial Grievance of Ireland. 2. Recent Editions of Molière. 3. Forest Management. 4. The Keresby Memoirs. 5. Ewald's History of Israel. 6. Progress of the Kingdom of Italy. 7. Lawson's Travels in New Guinea. 8. A Prussian Campaign in Holland. 9. The Municipal Government of London.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. The Magic and Sorcery of the Chaldeans. 2. Celtic Culture. 3. The Unseen Universe. 4. The Brighton Convention and its Opponents. 5. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel Accommodation. 6. William Bell Scott, Poet and Painter. 7. The Methodist Conference of 1875.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Memoirs of Saint-Simon. 2. Trout and Trout-Fishing. 3. William Borlase, St. Aubyn, and Pope. 4. Drink: the Vice and the Disease. 5. Icelandic Illustrations of English. 6. The Maules of Panmure. 7. Russian Proverbs. 8. Census of England and Wales. 9. The Conservative Government.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. The Marriage of Near Kin. 2. Quakerism. 3. Lord Shelburne, the Minister. 4. The Religious Education of Children. 5. The Baron's Blunder. 6. Montaigne. 7. Physics and Physiology of Harmony. 8. Theism.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. Riehm and Dr. Köstlin. 1876. First Number. *Essays:* 1. KÖSTLIN, The Proofs of the Existence of God. (Second Article, concluded.) 2. ROTERMUND, From Ephraim to Golgotha. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SCHUM. The Quedlinburg Fragment of an Illustrated Itala. 2. RÖSCH, King Pul. *Reviews:* 1. VOIGT, Fundamental Dogmatik, reviewed by Von der Goltz. 2. GOLTZ, Die christlichen Grundwahrheiten, reviewed by Gottschick. *Miscellaneous:* A German Palestine Museum in Jerusalem.

The numerous monuments relating to the ancient history of Assyria, which have of late been discovered and deciphered,

have a special interest for the Christian theologian on account of the light which they shed upon the chronology of the Old Testament. We have, in a former number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," referred to the valuable information derived from the monuments concerning King Sargon, whose name is only once mentioned in the Scriptures, (Isa. xx, 1,) but who, in the light of the native inscriptions, is now universally recognized as one of the greatest of all Assyrian kings, and appears as such in all text-books of ancient history. On the other hand, King Pul, who occupies a most prominent position in the biblical records, and was formerly believed to have been one of its foremost kings, appears to lose his claim to be counted among the actual sovereigns of the Assyrian empire. The above article, by G. Rösch, acquaints us with the recent researches and discoveries of German theologians and Orientalists relating to this king. His name has thus far not been found in the Assyro-Babylonian stone monuments. Lepsius in his essay, *Ueber den chronologischen Werth der assyrischen Eponymen*, ("On the Chronological Value of the Assyrian eponyms," Berlin, 1869,) thinks that any further search for him in the inscriptions will be useless, as he is identical with Tiglath-pileser. This view is supported by the most learned of German Assyriologists, Professor Schrader, of Berlin, in his work, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ("The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.") The author of the above article, J. Rösch, who is also devoting special attention to the Assyrian monuments, opposes the views of these scholars. He admits, with Schrader and Lepsius, that, in view of the continuity of the Assyrian lists of eponyms, there is no room left for a king of the Assyrian empire by the name of Pul, but he adduces two historical arguments, and one philological, against the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser. The only way of harmonizing the biblical records with the inscriptions appears to him to be to assume that Pul was a subordinate king or viceroy, appointed in Babylonia by the sovereign of Assyria. This explanation has previously been given by other writers on the subject, and Rösch refutes the arguments by which Schrader had opposed it, and gives some reasons for its correctness.

In the first article Professor Köstlin concludes his essay on

the arguments which Christian theologians have used for proving the existence of a supernatural, personal God. The article is specially devoted to a review of the cosmological and teleological arguments, and the argument derived from the consent of all nations. The objections of the opponents are fully developed, several weak points in the argumentation of the defenders are admitted; but, in conclusion, the writer takes the ground that the religious and Christian faith conveys a degree of certainty in regard to the reality of a living, personal God which no so-called proof of the existence of God can produce.

The article "From Ephraim to Golgotha," by the Rev. W. Rotermund, a German Protestant pastor at Sào Leopoldo, in Brazil, undertakes to give us a connected view of the last days in the life of Jesus, beginning with his departure from Ephraim, and closing with the crucifixion. As is usual in the essays of this class, the conflicting views of the recent writers on the life of Jesus are referred to and examined, and, in conclusion, the author gives us the result of his studies in the following table:—

Day of the Week.	Day of the Month.		Events of the Day.	Passages of the Scriptures.
Thursday..	March 30..	Nisan 7..	Departure from Ephraim; arrival in Jericho.	Luke xviii. 31–xix. 27; Matt. xx. 17–34; Mark x. 32–52.
Friday.....	" 31..	" 8..	Journey from Jericho to Bethany.	Luke xix. 28, 29; Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; John xii. 1.
Saturday ..	April 1....	" 9..	Last supper and anointment.	John xii. 2–8; Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Mark xiv. 3–9.
Sunday....	" 2....	" 10..	Entry into Jerusalem.	John xii. 12–19; Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 29–44; Matt. xxi. 1–11.
Monday...	" 3....	" 11..	Cursing of the fig-tree; cleansing of the temple.	Mark xi. 12–19; Matt. xxi. 12–19; Luke xix. 45–48.
Tuesday...	" 4....	" 12..	Withering of the fig-tree; sermons.	Mark xi. 20–xiv. 2; Matthew xxi. 20–xxvi. 5; Luke xx. 1–xxii. 6.
Wednesday	" 5....	" 13..	Sojourn in Bethany.	
Thursday..	" 6....	" 14..	Preparation for, and partaking of, the passover.	Matt. xxvi. 17–30; Mark xiv. 12–26; Luke xxii. 7–23; John xiii–xvii.
Friday.....	" 7....	" 15..	Imprisonment and crucifixion.	John xviii. xix; Luke xxii. 40–xxiii; Matthew xxvi. 31–xxvii; Mark xiv. 27–xv.

French Reviews.

Revue Chrètienne. (Christian Review.) July, 1875.—1. Lichtenberger, Alexander Vinet. 2. E. W., A Religious Novel, (Le Mot de l'Enigme, by Madame Augustus Craven.) 3. Bonifas, Roman History in the Tragedies of Corneille, (Conclusion.) 4. G. Monod, Fine Arts in France in 1875.

August.—1. Lichtenberger, Alexander Vinet, (Second Article.) 2. Penel, Gladstone and Ultramontanism. 3. Lichtenberger, German Affairs.—The Future of the Theological Faculties.

September.—1. E. de Pressense, The General Aspects of Religion after the Fall of Man. 2. E. de Guerle, Byron and his Last Critics. 3. Naville, On the Existence of a Religious Christian Art in the First Centuries.

October.—1. E. de Pressense, Apologetic Studies, (Second Series,) The Supernatural in God. 2. Cadene, The Correspondence of Lamartine. 3. Fr. de Pressense, England and English Society under George IV. and William IV. 4. Lichtenberger, German Affairs.

Professor Lichtenberger, formerly of Strasburg and now of Paris, in his article on the Theological Faculties of Germany, discusses the dangers which at present threaten these institutions. After having raised German theology to the highest eminence which theological science has ever attained, their suppression is now demanded by several prominent scholars. Lichtenberger specially refers to the recent work of Professor Sybel, the celebrated historian of Bonn, and one of the chiefs of the national liberal party, on "The German Universities, their Achievements and Wants," (*Die deutschen Universitäten, ihre Leistungen und Bedürfuisse.* Berlin, 1874,) and to that of Dr. Geffcken, one of the few German advocates of an entire separation between Church and State, on "State and Church in their Mutual Relations." (Strasburg, 1875.) Sybel takes the ground that theology does not constitute a science in the strict sense of the word, but that it is the art of governing the soul, and that it belongs altogether to the seminaries. Geffcken, on the other hand, wants to confine the instruction of theology to the seminaries, on the ground that it solely concerns the Churches to organize and to direct the theological instruction given to her future ministers. Professor Lichtenberger does not share the opinion of the two German scholars. Though a very decided partisan of the separation between Church and State, he insists that "religious science is one of the subjects the instruction in which contributes to the intellectual culture of a country, and that, consequently, the State government has the duty to take the initiative in regard to it. This does not necessarily imply that the State is competent to

teach theology, for it is just as incompetent to teach medicine or philosophy. But the State alone possesses the necessary means to secure for the schools of the highest grade an existence worthy, independent, and conformable to the national genius. Theology, though different from other sciences, has a truly scientific character, and therefore should be taught at the universities. Any desire to isolate from the intellectual current of a country the cultivation of religious science, both misunderstands its nature and weakens its bearing."

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CREEDS OF THE WORLD.

Owing to the progress of the science of statistics, the population of the globe can now be estimated with a degree of probability to which, as we can see in the light of modern science, estimates made in former times have no claim whatever. All of the countries of Europe with the exception of Turkey, most of the countries of America, and the European colonies, with a number of independent States in other large divisions of the globe, from time to time take an official census, which establishes the actual population with a certainty which, it seems, leaves hardly any room for considerable improvement. During the time from one census to the next, official calculations are annually made on the basis of the official lists of births and deaths, of immigration and emigration, which are proved by the results of the subsequent census to have now reached a high degree of accuracy. In the countries in which no official census has as yet been taken, the researches in regard to the number of inhabitants made by learned travelers give us at least figures vastly superior in point of trustworthiness to those found in geographical works of an earlier date. The famous geographical establishment of Perthes, in Gotha, Germany, has for several years been publishing a periodical specially devoted to the most recent information relating to the area of all the divisions and States of the globe, where the results of the entire literature of the world relating to this subject are carefully garnered, and where every figure can be traced to the source, official or inofficial, from which it has been derived.*

* E. Behm und R. Wagner, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," vol. i, 1872; vol. ii, 1874; vol. iii, 1875. In the "Statistical Tables" published by Professor A. J. Schem, (3d edit., 1875,) the figures relating to population have been taken from the German work of Behm and Wagner, except in those cases where the editor has sources of information of a later date than the last volume of the German work.

The greater accuracy obtained for the statistics of population has, of course, enabled us to estimate more correctly the population professing the various creeds. Most of the States include in the census questions one in regard to the religious profession. Where this is not done, as in the United States, in England and Scotland, most of the religious denominations publish annual accounts of adult membership, of number of churches and ministers, and other facts from which inferences as to the total population, which more or less is influenced and controlled by the doctrinal tenets of a particular religious denomination, may be made. It is interesting to observe in the religious statistics of those States which include the religious profession of the inhabitants in the official census the small number of persons who avow themselves as atheists. Thus in Prussia, which, by friends as well as by foes, is sometimes looked upon as the Eldorado of atheists and opponents to the belief in a personal God, avowed atheists can only be looked for in the columns of "persons of unknown religions," who number four thousand four hundred and ninety-five, and free religions, of whom there were two thousand five hundred and thirty-one. Thus no more than about seven thousand in a total population of twenty-four millions six hundred thousand made a statement that might cause them to be looked upon as atheists. In France eighty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-one persons were returned as "without religion," or "religion unknown," in a total population of thirty-six millions. In the Dominion of Canada, according to the official census of 1871, of a total population of three millions four hundred and eighty-six thousand, only twenty persons claimed to be atheists, four hundred and nine deists, and five thousand one hundred and forty-four to have no religion.

Facts like these indicate that however large the number of persons may be who are indifferent in religious matters, or have discarded a belief in a personal God and in Christianity, the population of the Christian countries continues to be almost a unit in its outward connection with Christianity. This includes the Christian character, more or less explicit, of laws, of customs, of literature, and of education. Thus the countries of Europe, America, and Australia may be looked upon as representatives of the Christian religion and of Christian civilization to as high a degree as at any former period of their history.

We now subjoin a few statistical statements which will show, 1. The area and population of the five large divisions of the globe; 2. The leading creeds of the world; 3. The three large divisions of the Christian Church; 4. The area and population of the States under Christian governments.*

* The first of the statistical statements here referred to are taken from Behm and Wagner, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," vol. iii, 1875; the figures of the second and third are, with slight modifications, reproduced from the "Statistical Tables" (N. Y., 1875) of Professor Schem; the fourth is extracted from another forthcoming statistical essay of Professor Schem.

I. Area and Population of the Five Large Divisions of the World.

Continents.	Square Miles.	Population.	Inhabitants on one Sq. Mile.
Europe	3,824,455	302,973,000	80
Asia	17,300,445	798,907,000	47
Africa	11,557,875	206,007,000	18
America	15,954,623	84,392,000	5
Australia	3,425,072	4,563,000	1.5
Total	52,062.470	1,396,842,000	26.

II. The Leading Creeds of the World.

1. *Christianity.*—Three of the five large divisions of the globe may be set down as almost wholly Christian. Every country of America, without exception; every country of Europe, except Turkey; the Australian continent, with many of the Polynesian Islands, profess Christianity as the national religion; and even in Turkey, the Christians constitute the large majority of the population in the European dominions, and the entire expulsion of the only non-Christian government of Europe appears to be near at hand. In Asia more than one half the entire area (nine millions three hundred and seventy-nine thousand square miles) is under the rule of Christian governments, chiefly Russia and Great Britain, and the extent of this territory is increasing every year. In Africa the possessions of the Christian powers are likewise steadily increasing. In addition to Abyssinia, which has been a nominally Christian country for fifteen hundred years, Liberia, the Transvaal Republic, the Orange Free State, and Madagascar, are independent African States with Christian governments. In all the countries of America, Europe, and Australia, in the dependencies of the European powers, in Asia and Africa, the Christian population is either officially enumerated in the census, or can be estimated with a high degree of accuracy; and if it is only kept in mind that statistics of Christianity, or any other creed, can only mean the population nominally connected with, and actually influenced and controlled by, its doctrines, the estimates of the present number of Christians will be accepted as being a comparatively near approach to the real facts; nearer, at all events, than any former estimate of Christians or any present estimate of the other large creeds. According to the latest information accessible, we estimate the Christian population of America at about eighty millions, of Europe at two hundred and eighty-nine millions, of Australia and Polynesia at three millions, of Asia at sixteen millions, of Africa at six millions, of the entire globe at three hundred and ninety-three millions.

2. *Buddhism.*—This form of religion is commonly represented as having a larger number of adherents than any other form of religion, and some estimate the population connected with it as high as five hundred millions. Other estimates are, however, much lower, some being as low as three hundred millions. The impossibility of making accurate estimates arises from the fact that Buddhism in China has so much con-

formed itself to the old Chinese religion, and in Japan to the national religion of Shintoism, that the marks of difference have become almost imperceptible. The present sovereign of Japan is making great efforts to repress Buddhism, and to clear Shintoism from its Buddhistic adventures; but the latest accounts from Japan agree in representing Buddhism as being still the popular religion of the country, and the same report is made on China. Buddhism in an unmixed form is the recognized State religion in Siam, Burmah, Anam, and Thibet; and it prevails in Ceylon, and in some parts of British India, where, according to the latest census, the Buddhist population amounted to about nine millions three hundred thousand. It also prevails in Mongolia, and among some of the Kirgheez tribes subject to the rule of Russia. Buddhism is confined to Asia, with the exception of about two hundred and fifty thousand nomads in European Russia.

3. *Brahminism.*—This religion prevails only in British India, and in the islands of Bali and Lombok. According to the latest census taken in the provinces of British India, the number of Brahmaists amounted to about one hundred and forty millions five hundred thousand. The total population connected with this religion is not likely to exceed one hundred and forty-five millions.

4. *The Religious System of Confucius and the Shinto Religion.*—The former is the State religion of China, the latter that of Japan. Both, as has already been stated, have been overgrown by Buddhism to such an extent as to make it nearly impossible to recognize the boundary lines. The population by which the moral precepts of Confucius are accepted as the highest authority is vaguely estimated from sixty to one hundred and twenty millions, and that which worships in the Shinto temples from twelve to twenty millions.

5. *Mohammedanism.*—Asia has a Mohammedan population of about ninety-five millions, nearly one half of whom are subjects of the British Government. The Mohammedan population prevails in Asiatic Turkey, in Persia, in Afghanistan and Beloochistan, in all the independent States of Central Asia, in the islands of Java and Sumatra, and in Arabia. Russia had in 1875, in its Asiatic possessions, a Mohammedan population of about five millions, which may be expected to increase rapidly by the progressive absorption of the States of Central Asia. The Mohammedan population of China is undoubtedly larger than was formerly assumed, as has been proved by the Mohammedan rebellions in the north-western and south-western provinces. It can certainly not be less than three millions, and may be much larger. In Europe, the Mohammedan population of Turkey has been for some time on the decline, and is not supposed to exceed four millions. Russia, in its European provinces, has about two millions three hundred and fifty-nine thousand. In Africa, Mohammedanism not only rules in the States of the northern and eastern coast, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, but it has gradually conquered nearly the whole interior of Africa, having advanced westward to the borders of Liberia. It is thought that nearly one half

of the total population of Africa, or about one hundred millions, may be set down as imbued with Mohammedanism.

6. *Judaism.*—Judaism is neither the predominant religion, nor the religion of the government in any particular country of the globe, but it is represented in every civilized and in many uncivilized countries. The Jews number more than five millions in Europe, of whom about one half live in Russia and Poland. They are also numerous in China, in Morocco, and other countries of Northern Africa, and are increasing rapidly in the large cities of the United States. Their aggregate number may be about seven millions.

III. The Three Large Divisions of Christendom.

It is common to divide the Christian Churches into three groups: 1. The Roman Catholic, which regards the Pope as the head of the entire Christian Church; 2. The Eastern or Oriental Churches, which recognize the first Council of Nice as œcumenical, and believe in a government of the Church by bishops who derive their consecration, in an unbroken succession, from the apostles; 3. All others generally comprised under the name of Protestants. They reject the infallibility of the Pope as well as of œcumenical councils, and subordinate all sources of doctrine to the Bible. The name *Protestant* is disliked and disowned by some sects put in this group; and parts of other sects claim a place in the second instead of the third group. The Old Catholics and Jansenists have not yet entirely cut loose from the first group, though they are excommunicated by the Pope. The number of Christians belonging to each of the three large groups is about as follows:—

Continents.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Eastern Churches.
America	33,000,000	47,000,000	.....
Europe	72,000,000	148,000,000	69,000,000
Asia	2,000,000	5,000,000	9,000,000
Africa	2,000,000	1,000,000	3,000,000
Australia and Polynesia	2,200,000	800,000	.....
Total	111,200,000	201,800,000	81,000,000

It will be seen from the above table that the Roman Catholic Church embraces a considerable majority of the total population of America, and nearly one half in Europe. It exceeds the Protestant population in Asia, but is exceeded by it in Africa and Australia.

IV.—Independent States Under Christian Governments.

The power and influence of the States which may be said to be under Christian government has increased more rapidly than the number of Christians, and the Christian aggregate population of these territories by far exceeds the aggregate number of Christians. In fact, the Christian nations, when united, rule the world without the possibility of any oppos-

tion, and their ascendency is becoming more prominent every year. The following list contains all the States of the world which have either Christian monarchs, or, in case they are republics, a predominantly Christian population. The figures given for each State include the area and population of all its colonies and dependencies. Counting the small insular States of Polynesia which have been Christianized as one, they are forty-eight in number, of which six belong to the Eastern, (marked in the list with E,) twelve to the Protestant, (marked P,) and the remainder to the Roman Catholic nations. The States are arranged in the order of their population. It will be noticed that the list is headed by a Protestant State, and that among the six most populous Christian States of the globe three are Protestant. By casting up the population of the Protestant States, the interesting fact will be ascertained, that considerably more than one half, and nearly two thirds of the aggregate population of Christian States, are under Protestant governments:—

States, inclusive of Colonies and Dependencies.	Sq. Miles.	Inhabitants.	States, inclusive of Colonies and Dependencies.	Sq. Miles.	Inhabitants.
British Empire (P)	8,755,159	283,604,841	Servia (E)	16,817	1,338,000
Russian Empire (E)	8,535,142	85,686,000	Ecuador	248,300	1,308,000
France	577,195	41,736,000	Guatemala	40,778	1,194,000
German Empire (P)	208,729	41,060,864	Liberia (P)	9,567	718,000
United States (P)	3,611,844	38,555,983	San Salvador	7,335	600,000
Austro-Hungary	240,954	35,904,435	Hayti	9,233	572,000
Italy	114,409	26,801,154	Honduras	47,092	350,000
Netherlands (P)	674,100	26,369,000	Uruguay	69,800	300,000
Spain	316,075	25,196,100	Transvaal Republic (P)	114,000	300,000
Brazil	3,288,100	10,296,238	Nicaragua	58,169	250,000
Mexico	741,823	9,158,247	Paraguay	56,714	221,079
Portugal	741,625	8,028,500	Luxembourg	999	197,528
Sweden and Norway (P)	294,030	6,063,800	Costa Rica	21,453	185,000
Belgium	11,373	5,253,821	San Domingo	19,959	136,500
Madagascar (P)	228,600	5,000,000	Montenegro (E)	1,701	120,000
Roumania (E)	46,710	4,500,000	Orange Free State (P)	42,479	57,000
Abyssinia (E)	158,400	3,000,000	Sandwich Islands (P)	7,629	56,877
Colombia	320,738	2,894,992	Andorra	144	12,000
Switzerland (P)	15,992	2,669,147	Liechtenstein	68	8,060
Peru	503,468	2,500,000	San Marino	24	7,816
Chili	126,034	2,074,000	Monaco	6	5,741
Bolivia	500,880	2,000,000	Australian Islands, excl. of European possessions and Sandwich Isl's (P)	320,750	1,926,100
Denmark (P)	54,308	1,988,000			
Argentine Confederation	838,605	1,812,500			
Venezuela	403,272	1,784,194			
Greece (E)	19,353	1,457,894	Total	32,419,915	685,459,411

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Among the recent German works which openly attack the Christian religion and predict its approaching downfall, that by the philosopher, E. von Hartmann, entitled "The Spontaneous Decomposition of Christianity and the Religion of the Future," (*Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums.* Berlin, second edition, 1874,) has made quite a stir in literary circles. Unlike many other works against Christianity, which regard the Church of Rome as the most consistent organization and development of Christian ideas, and Protestantism as a kind of compromise between Christian-

ity and progressive science, E. von Hartmann dismisses Catholicism with a few brief remarks on its services in the past and its anachronism in the present. He then concentrates his attacks upon Protestantism, which he characterizes as the religion of worldliness, as a religion which is willing to hear of something to its advantage in the next world, provided it can first secure the more solid satisfaction of this world. Turning to the religion of the future, the author does not share the opinion of the majority of anti-Christian writers, who believe that bald materialism will take the place of the overthrown religion, and that mankind in future will be without any religion whatever. Hartmann believes in a religion of the future, but declares his inability to delineate its chief characteristics. Christianity, he thinks, will furnish some of the constituent elements, but individual immortality and vicarious atonement will find no place in it. As was to be expected, the work has called forth a large number of replies. The pamphlet of Dr. Huber, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Munich, and one of the prominent men of the Old Catholic Church, is regarded as one of the best. The pamphlet is entitled, *Die Religiöse Frage, wider E. von Hartmann;* (The Religious Question against E. von Hartmann.) Munich, 1875. By a number of previous works this writer has established for himself the reputation of being one of the most powerful writers against all opponents of Christianity. His pamphlet begins with a review of the religious situation of the age. Against the attacks taken from logic and exact science, he urges that religion is not a result of either logic or exact science, but that it rests on the wants of the soul. The charge that Christianity is now in open conflict with the science of the age, is refuted by a reference to the times of the first establishment of the Christian religion, when the same charges were made. The question whether Christianity can remain the religion of the future is identical, according to Huber, with the other, whether the future will have a religion; for the attacks upon Christianity are so many attacks upon the essence of all religion. Other pamphlets against Hartmann have been written by Dr. Heman, (Hartmann's *Religion der Zuknuft in ihrer Selbstzersetzung nachgewiesen.* Leipsic, 1875,) and by Dr. Schwarz, (*Das Ziel religiöser und wissenschaftlicher Gährung.* Berlin, 1875.)

Dr. Delitzsch, Lecturer on Theology at the University of Leipsic, has published the first volume of a work on "The Doctrinal System of the Church of Rome," (*Das Lehrsystem der Römischen Kirche.* Gotha, 1875.) The object of the work is to give a more thorough delineation of the Roman system than can be found in any Protestant work, and it has made careful use of the entire recent literature of the Church of Rome. The first volume treats, in an introduction, of the sources and the organization of the doctrinal system of Rome, and then proceeds to the first main section, comprising the fundamental doctrine of Romanism, or the doctrine of the Church.

A valuable work on "Philo of Alexandria, as Interpreter of the Old Testament," (*Philo von Alexandrien.* Jena, 1875,) has been published by

Prof. C. Siegfried, who had previously published several articles on Philo in the theological periodicals of Germany. An introduction treats of the external history of Judaism, from the construction of the first temple to the age of Philo of Alexandria. The main work consists of two parts: 1. Philo as interpreter of the Old Testament. 2. The historical influence of Philo's exegetical principles.

The fragments of Papias, one of the earlier writers of the Christian Church, which have been preserved by the Church historian Eusebius, have an important bearing on the question of the authenticity of the Gospel of St. John. They have, therefore, of late been made the subject of several special treatises. The most recent is by Dr. Limbach, a young theologian of the orthodox Lutheran school, entitled, *Das Papias Fragment*, and directed against a treatise, of the same title, by Dr. Weissenbach, a theologian of the Rationalistic school.

The Commentary to the Gospel of St. John, by Prof. Luthardt, (*Das Johanneische Evangelium.* Nuremburg, second edition, 1875,) is regarded by the evangelical theologians of Germany as one of the best productions of German exegetical literature. The first edition appeared in 1852, since which time a very large number of books explaining or bearing on the fourth gospel have been published. The author has compared this new literature, enlarged his work by references to recent works, and rewritten several parts.

The Commentary to "The Sacred Writings of the New Testament," (*Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments.* Nördlingen, 1875,) by Prof. J. Ch. K. von Hofmann, Professor of Theology at Erlangen, and one of the veterans of the Lutheran Church of Germany, has now reached part vii. sec. 1, which comprises the first Epistle of Peter. The epistle, according to Hofmann, was written by the Apostle Peter at Rome during the time between the departure of the Apostle Paul from Rome (A. D. 63) and the latter part of the summer of the year 64. It is very closely connected with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and has lively reminiscences of that to the Romans.

A prominent representative of the Rationalist theological school of Switzerland, Professor Langhaus, of Berne, has begun the publication of a Manual of Biblical History and Literature, (*Handbuch der biblischen Geschichte.* Berne, 1875.) The work will be completed in four parts.

A new edition of the ancient Church writer, Arnobius, (*Arnobii adversus Nationes libri vii.* Vienna, 1875,) by Professor Reiferscheid, forms the fourth volume of the collection of the ancient Church writers which is published by the Vienna Academy of Sciences under the title, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum editum consilio et impensis Academiæ litterarum Cæsarea Vindobonensis.* The former volumes of the collection contained the works of Sulpitius Severus, Minutius Felix, Julius Firmicus Maternus, edited by Halm, and of Cyprian by Hartel. The editors of the volumes which have thus far appeared are scholars of the first rank, and the entire collection is one of the many publications which

are recognized in all countries as specimens of the profound learning of German scholars.

A new Commentary on the book of Job, by Dr. H. Zschokke, (*Das Buch Job übersetzt.* Vienna, 1875,) is a part of a Roman Catholic Commentary to the entire Old Testament, edited by Professor Rohling and others. Previously four volumes had been published. The work is chiefly intended for students of theology and educated laymen.

The union Conferences which have been held at Cologne and Bonn between Old Catholic, Anglican, and Oriental theologians, have awakened a new interest in the history of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost. (See Meth. Quart. Rev., 1875, p. 673.) Prominent theologians of all these three communions agree in the opinion that the differences of belief which so long divided the Eastern and Western Churches can be harmoniously adjusted. The Anglican and Old Catholic members of the Union Conferences made to the Oriental Churches the concession that they declared the addition of the word *filioque* to the creed of the Church, which was first made by order of Charlemagne in spite of the opposition of the pope, to have been illegal. There was, however, a difference of opinion as to what the precise doctrine of the ancient Church has been, and as to the wording that should be chosen to harmonize the views of the theologians of all the three communions. The Conference has called forth several theological treatises on the subject. One, from the Russian archimandrite, Sylvester, Professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev, has been published by the Society of Friends of Ecclesiastical Enlightenment of St. Petersburg, which chiefly patronizes the Union Conferences with Anglicans and Old Catholics in a German translation, entitled *Antwort auf die in dem altkatholischen Schema enthaltene Bemerkung von dem Heiligen. Geiste.* ("Reply to the Remarks on the Holy Ghost contained in the Old Catholic Declaration." Petersburg, 1875.) As the Russian language is but little understood outside of Russia, Russian theologians, in order to bring their views to the knowledge of theologians of other Churches, now, in many cases, procure the translation of their works into German, which is now more widely understood among learned theologians than any other language.

Art. XI.—INORGANIC METHODISM.

Dr. Curry's able Article in our present number, and this our little essay in response, ought, perhaps, to exchange titles. He has stated the case, really, of inorganic Methodism, and has endeavored to read its extremer principles into our history and institutions. We propose to give a brief, varying, yet not wholly contradictory view, stating more decisively the organic element in Methodism,

leaving the reader to form his own conclusions from reason and Scripture. His closing paragraphs, frankly indorsing the adoption and permanence of our episcopacy, without any essential change, will be received by the large body of our readers with gratification.

1. We agree that a call to the preaching of the Gospel is the true requisite for every true minister. To be "moved by the Holy Ghost" thereto is the formula we have derived from the English Church. And so St. Paul tells us that God "gave" (Eph. iv, 11) the various ministries, or rather ministers. He "gave" apostles, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. The mission, right, and authority of each of these classes depended, it must be carefully noted, on "the measure of the gift." The call of the called extended only to the extent of the call. If a "teacher" undertook to be an "apostle" he was a usurper, and liable to fall into schism. It does not follow that every "called" preacher is also a "called" *minister* in every respect. He may be "called" as an *evangelist*, to rouse the people, and yet not as an *elder*, to administer government and sacrament. Taking the natural talent as a basis, the Spirit bestowed upon the man the gracious "gift," to be exercised within the limits required by the common good and order of the Church. But,

2. If there is a *call* of the individual to the ministry, there is also still more emphatically a *call* of the Christian body to be a Church. When on an island, like ancient Crete, there is a scattered number of Christians, it is their duty to gravitate toward each other, to unify, and to organize into a governmental system. This duty is based upon the social instinct; on the "impossibility of going to heaven alone;" and on the supreme importance that the Christian body should form itself into not only a commonwealth, but into an *army* for the conquest of the world. St. Paul exhorted not only the Church of Corinth, but all the Churches of Achaia together, "That ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." Equally true is it that this Church army should be officered and commanded. It should have its organization and its ordinances, constituting its form and identity. St. Paul's favorite image is the human body, (Eph. iv, 3–16;) which image he uses to illustrate how each part must adhere to its own functions, and how thereby the common life and energy would be most triumphant. The ambitious little foot must not aspire to be the head. The jaunty little evangelist, the brilliant Strawbridge of the day, however successful in sally-

ing out, getting up revivals, and raising rural societies, must not therefore assume to be an apostle, or even, perhaps, a pastor, unless in the blessed order of the one body. Otherwise, there would be a schism between him and the apostle; but the Strawbridge, and not the apostle, would be the schismatic.

3. It is the "call" of the Church to test and judge "the call" of the minister. It is not sufficient for a man to start up and declare, upon his own motion, that he is "called," to authorize him to exercise the organic ordinances of the Church. It is in the Church that lies the duty and right to furnish from her bosom and hand, and to authenticate and externally commission, the ministry. Herein lies "the priesthood of the people;" that out of the holy people shall go forth a holy ministry. Both to Timothy and to Titus St. Paul furnishes a large section of a brief letter in describing what sort of a person the elder and the deacon should be. It was not enough that he professed to be "called of God." He must exhibit a number of good traits to Timothy's authoritative eye. He must be well reported to Timothy by the Church. He must be "proved." No man could announce himself as elder, and of his own sweet will go to administering ordinances and ordination. He might be a brilliant evangelist and yet unfit for an elder. The very fact that, in a spirit of "Irish independence," he insisted on being an elder when he was only an evangelist, without regard to organic order, would have rendered his fitness suspicious, and have made him a probable schismatic. Separation from a true organic Church is justifiable only on grounds of *the right of revolution.* On any less ground it is schism.

4. If Strawbridge had "a call" to be an evangelist, Wesley had far more a divine "call," instrumentally to inaugurate the movement called Methodism, and to organize and control it. The Almighty made him a natural autocrat. Upon that noble basis the divine Spirit, as usual, based its charism and its mission, and his call was in extent according to the measure of his gift. It was something more than "providential," unless the charism be held a part of the providence. His call to his mission as founder-apostle was far more special and far more divine than Strawbridge's call was to the preaching of the Gospel under and within the great organic movement. What this centralizing and organizing character of both Wesley and Asbury signifies we may all judge by comparing Wesley's work with Whitefield's. Why is it that Whitefield's work has left little trace behind it, and Wesley's is filling the world? The reply, humanly, is *organism.* But for the autocracy

of Wesley, which reached America through Asbury, the sporadic work of men like Strawbridge would have been like water spilled upon the ground. When, then, in opposition to Wesley, to the Conference, to the unity and power of the whole movement, Strawbridge insisted by willful individualism to administer the sacraments, he was acting, however sincerely and heroically, out of the divine order, and was a schismatic. And when we are told that he had a *right* to administer sacraments, there still would remain the question, Was it right for him to exercise his right? Nothing is more common than rights in abeyance; rights which there is no justifiable occasion for exerting. Rightly was his name left off those "Minutes" whose compact he violated. His evangelism seems to have ceased, and we rejoice at the final testimony that he died "in great peace." When in virtue of his call to be an evangelist he assumed the functions of an elder, he impinged against the far higher call of Wesley, and, like a beautiful but slender yacht dashing against the Great Eastern, he wrecked himself.

5. Ordination by laying on of hands, and in no different manner, is sanctioned by Scripture example. Thrice did we rub our eyes in wonder, and read again the words on page 127, that this mode of ordination was, with certainty, sanctioned only by "patristic authority." The imposition of hands is authorized in both the Old and New Testaments for at least three several purposes: as a mode of blessing, of imparting the Holy Ghost, of *conferring sacred office and authority*. It was performed by Divine command by Moses, for this last purpose, upon Joshua. Num. xxii, 23. Twice in the Acts of the Apostles is ordination by the laying on of hands mentioned, namely: that of the deacons by the apostles, (Acts vi, 6,) and that of Paul and Barnabas as apostles in mission to the Gentiles. Acts xiii, 3. Three times is the laying on of hands, mentioned by Paul in his Epistles to Timothy, an ordination thereby to the ministry. Twice it is used in reference to the setting apart of Timothy to his office by St. Paul and the presbytery. Once, in the midst of cautions to Timothy against appointing elders hastily, he says, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." This can have no other meaning than that Paul's method of ordination to eldership was by laying on of hands. And this method must, therefore, be read into all those ordinations by St. Paul of elders and deacons into all his Churches. The difference between the Scripture authority for baptism and that for ordination by imposition of hands is, that while the former has most explicit warrant, both from Scripture *example* and also Scripture

command, the latter has Scripture *example* only. The phrase in Heb. vi, 2, "doctrine of baptisms and laying on of hands," does decisively import that "the laying on of hands" was one of the *doctrines* of Christianity. And the assuming that it has no more Scripture authority than the "handing of a book" is an extravaganza. And the command, "Lay hands suddenly on no man," is not far from even *a command to the laying on of hands.* We may fairly say that this is the only form authorized, and is the form to be used. The not using it, is at least a disrespect to a divine example. There is then, scripturally, a formal defect. When used in its full import and in the right spirit by the officer authorized by the Church, a divine authentication and authority are conveyed. Nor is there any valid doubt that the New Testament practice of ordination has continued in uninterrupted succession down to the present as truly as the Sabbath or the Lord's Supper. Those three parallel lines connect us, thanks to Wesley and our fathers, by an historic tie to the primitive Church. Nor is it in the spirit of our fathers, or of true Methodism, to wantonly break our historic connections with the post-apostolic catholic Church. In his letter to American Methodists authenticating Coke, Wesley rejoices that, by our national independence, they are free to follow "*Scripture and the primitive Church*," and so can accept his episcopacy.

And these views we understand to be the fundamental and constitutional views of the Methodist Episcopal Church from its first founding, at the Christmas Conference, until now. Our ordinations are, professedly, not a mere "blessing," nor a mere "recognizing" or "discerning." They are a solemn conveying from the body, the CHURCH, through the ordainer as its agent, of an office, an *authority*, for most solemn functions. Nothing less than this can be meant by those awful words by which a bishop is, and has ever been, consecrated: "The Lord pour upon thee THE HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God NOW COMMITTED unto thee by the authority of the Church through THE IMPOSITION OF OUR HANDS, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." These words are a triple blasphemy if it be not held that the Church by a divine authority communicates a divine office, dignity, and *authority*, through the mode of the laying on of hands, *which mode alone is authorized by Scripture.* Is this High-Churchism? It is the High-Churchism of our whole history. And those other words, to which we have all assented at our presbyterial ordination, are scarce less decisive: "The Lord pour upon thee the Holy Ghost for the office

and work of an elder in the Church of God, now *committed unto thee by the authority of the Church through the imposition of our hands.*" We think that any who should pronounce ordination so used to be a "fetish" or an "INCANTATION" would do well to reconsider their words.

Of this authentication the source is not the bishops, (who are but its mere agents,) nor the eldership, but the *body*, lay and ministerial, of the one whole Church. And the pastor so ordained is not a mere hired-man of the particular charge to which he is sent; but the humblest of all our pastors is truly *a representative of the whole Church;* and what rightful thing he does in his legitimate sphere, the unity of the Church does through him. If directly and internally called of God, he is also mediately and externally called by the divinely ordaining Church. And it is in this twofold call that his authority and high dignity as *minister* and embassador of God consists.

6. If Strawbridge was a permanent schismatic, the Fluvanna Conference, which undertook the performance of spontaneous, mutual presbyterian (if it could be called even "presbyterian") ordination, was briefly schismatic; but it soon saw its mistake, and nobly, with perfect unanimity, redeemed itself. The men were, like Strawbridge, deeply holy men, and committed their error, not like him, with mere "persistent individualism," but in the spirit of perfect love. For years the child had grown up without baptism, and the convert had, indeed, received the love-feast but not the holy supper. The southern ministers, by a large majority, were coming to the conclusion to disobey Wesley and break with the Church by self-ordination. In accordance with the then custom of holding two or three sessions a year, and yet considering them all one Annual Conference, the northern ministers (who were almost to a man opposed to self-ordination) assembled under Asbury at Baltimore. This was done, not for the convenience of Asbury alone, but for the convenience of all the northern preachers, whom the war impeded in going to Virginia and attending the fuller regular Conference. They claimed this Baltimore assemblage to be only a "preparatory Conference." The southerly Conference, really representing but the southern section, did by a majority of a majority (and so, perhaps, a minority of the whole ministry) for a brief period inaugurate the separation movement. They ordained presbyters, and for one year we were actually a presbyterian Church! But at the next regular session of the Conference this ephemeral presbytery evaporated into thin air! Asbury, attended by Garrettson and Watters, vis-

ited and addressed the Conference. He read Wesley's thoughts against separation from the Church of England, showed Wesley's private letters of instruction, and set before them the views of the northern preachers touching loyalty to Wesley and the great Methodist movements. For a while the presbyterians stood firm. But seasons of prayer took place, an effusion of the Spirit seemed to overwhelm them, and amid the rush of pentecostal feeling all hearts fused into one. In that glow of holy union it was agreed to give up the ordinations and await the decision of Mr. Wesley on the subject. Thus did the divine Spirit teach these holy men to subject their "call" to the higher "call" of Wesley and Methodism. For four long years did our unanimous American Methodism wait before Wesley could bring himself to the ordination of Coke and the organization of an episcopacy.

7. The ordination of Coke by Wesley, which seems to be slightingly styled a "unique affair," has long appeared to us one of the grandest acts of Wesley's life. It cleared American Methodism at one brave stroke alike from all presbyterian movements, all Anglican claims, and all internal schisms. And from that time to this, thanks be to God! we have stood out before Christendom on our own high plane, "rejoicing as a strong man to run a race." It seems too slightingly said, also, that "Wesley had been appealed to by various persons" to give us a Church government. He did so after the union above described in compliance with the unanimous request of American Methodism, patiently waiting for four years. If popular assent makes ecclesiastical government legitimate, no act was ever more legitimate, no government was ever more legitimate, than Wesley's in this matter. It was he, not they, who hesitated or doubted; and the length of their waiting shows that the independent presbyterian movement was never deep in the hearts of the people, and that preachers and people rejected with conscious depth and firmness every other thought than the getting an episcopacy from Wesley. For it was an episcopacy they expected. They were Church-of-England people, Episcopalians. They knew that Wesley disliked presbyterian government, and preferred episcopacy. And when, from Wesley, Coke came, the Conference accepted him with a *unanimous vote*. And they elected Asbury with *unanimous vote*. And their first eucharist they partook with holy rapture, and from one end of the Connection to the other no voice was heard but joyful acceptance. The Conference received Wesley's authentication of Coke, designating it explicitly as "letters of episcopal *orders;*" they adopted Wesley's ritual of ordaining

three grades; and they inaugurated a "Methodist Episcopal Church."

8. As to the logical grounds of Mr. Wesley's ordination, we endeavored to show four years ago the following points: 1. After Mr. Wesley's reading of Lord King, both he and the British Conference still avowed the belief that there are three proper orders in the New Testament, which are not, however, necessary to the absolute validity of a Church. 2. Nevertheless, the eldership is essentially the one order from which the other two are derivative. Not that a number of elders have a right to get together and ordain a bishop when they please. If they have the right, it is not right for them ordinarily to use the right. Wesley declared, in 1755, that it would be disorderly for him to so ordain, and yet when the "call" came his ordination was right. He, then, professedly, as being himself a regularly ordained elder in the Church of God, performed, under the due extraordinary call, that ordaining act, the power to which inheres in the eldership. 3. It was the rise of a people formed by God requiring his ordaining action that presented the providential call. The charismatic call was not a miraculous inspiration, but essentially, we suppose, of the same nature as a call to the ministry, being, in fact, within the scope of his call to his wide ministry. And our Discipline has from the beginning contained both the statement that our episcopacy is "orders," and that in the eldership inheres the right to ordain bishops when the entire episcopate becomes vacant, and that the eldership and laity may by full and formal process modify or abolish the episcopacy.

9. Wesley's ordaining act American Methodism accepted, but English Methodism rejected. English Methodism organized a valid presbyterian Church, being, as an already isolated independent body, guilty therein of no schism, but liable to the felt defect of ignoring Wesley's act. Dr. Porter, in his "Compendium of Methodism," furnishes ingenious suggestions why a body covering a narrow ground less needed a unifying episcopacy than our broad-spread communion. But Dr. Crane, in his valuable volume, noticed upon another page, points to some facts indicating that their rejection of the Wesleyan episcopacy is involving serious consequences. We have said that secession from a given Church is schismatic, unless justifiable by the law of revolution. When so justified it is upon the Church, and not upon the seceders, that rests the guilt of the schism. There have been several secessions from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which it is not for us at present to say where the responsibility of the schism lay; but each

one was, scripturally, a *schism*, with a responsibility somewhere. But we are in schism, and it behooves us as much as possible to diminish that schism by embracing all in the spirit of love and union. Christendom, generally, is in a state of deplorable schism, and it is with great interest that we trace the yearnings of her broken fragments after reunion. What the precise form of that final reunion will be which shall fulfill on earth the high-priestly prayer of Christ we inquire with deep ponder, but are unable to know. We are inclined to the belief that its organic form will be voluntary episcopacy; not compelled by the dogma of its necessity to the validity of a Church, but freely induced by the feeling that all other forms are less scripturally complete, and less efficient as a Church *militant*, as an army, for the conversion of the world. For it is the Wesleyanism of Wesley himself, that though a Church has a right to frame its own form, the best of all forms is the episcopal.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844–46, comprising a Thirty Years' History of the Two Methodisms. By Edward H. Myers, D.D. With an Introduction by T. O. Summers, D.D. 12mo., pp. 216. Nashville, Tenn.: A. H. Redford, Agent. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1875.

The author of this book, Dr. Myers, was long a leading Church editor, and is now an appointee of the Southern bishops as one of the commission to our next General Conference. The book, we are informed in Dr. Summers's Introduction, has the approval of some, and probably of all, of the bishops, and every effort seems to be made to give it the prestige of an authoritative manifesto, announcing to our Church the present views and demands of the Church South, but more specially assigning to the ministry and membership of the Church South the programme they are to accept in relation to the present and past. The proposal made from our delegates to the Church South, and generally approved by our side, to "let by-gones be by-gones," and to shake hands without a dubious debate over the past, is unceremoniously pronounced by Dr. S. to be "a farce." The old debate must be rehearsed. The present book, therefore, comes forth as a commencement of the contest, giving a one-sided, South-sided, history of some of the past, an

argumentative indictment of our whole course, and a presentation of the repeal of our annulment of the so-called "Plan of Separation," (by which repeal we would be bound to surrender all Southern territory, and withdraw our jurisdiction to Mason & Dixon's line,) as condition to fraternization. When Dr. S. pronounces this volume "*irenical*," he is surely *ironical*. It is accusatory from end to end, and can be fully met only by an answer from our side equally accusatory. Dr. S. discards a peaceful "farce" in order to secure a quarrel. *We* did not propose to forget the past because we were not thankful and religiously proud over *our* past. Our antislavery history, in all its relations to the South, is a glorious history. And so far as our rectitude and Christian brotherhood in dealing with the Church South are concerned, we should rejoice with exceeding joy to have the case stated before and decided by the high court of œcumenical, catholic Methodism. This perpetual quarreling and re-quarreling, and re-re-quarreling the case over and over, with no umpire, and no arbitrative result, is to us a bitterness and a disgust. But let Christendom, let universal Methodism, sit to hear our case, and our soul would be in the work. But as to the "irenic" character of the book, it is sufficient to say that it demands as condition to fraternity action on our part which our General Conference declared, in its first movement for sending a fraternal delegation, that it would never perform, namely, *withdrawal of our jurisdiction from the Southern States*.

Dr. Summers, we are glad to say, agrees, however inconsistently, that neither side need be required to renounce its own views and adopt those of the other. And that was ample reason for not opening a sectional debate. Let each side silently hold its own views in regard to the past; let equitable arrangements be made in regard to present affairs, and a permanent brotherly feeling be established for the future. We shall, therefore, briefly go over the main points of Dr. Myers's history and argument, repudiating his views and frankly stating our own, but not requiring that any southerner should adopt ours.

ORIGINAL AGGRESSIONS OF THE SLAVE POWER.

And, at start, Dr. Myers must and does make a primary assumption which would fatally vitiate his case before the high court we invoke. Primordially, if slavery was right, Dr. Myers's side was right; if wrong, wrong. He assumes that slavery, with its oligarchy, had a right to exist and push its persistent aggressions upon freedom and right, and that its opponents who resisted its

aggressions were "northern agitators," in a bad sense "abolitionists," guilty of all wickedness. We maintain that slavery had no right to exist; that whether legalized or not, it was a sin and a crime; that the laws that established it were criminal laws; that the "politics" under which it was sheltered were criminal and sinful "polities;" that those in the North who yielded to or aided its aggressions were partakers in the sin; and "the northern agitators" and "abolitionists" were "in the general" heroic maintainers of truth, freedom, and eternal justice. And now before said high court we arraign both Dr. Myers and his clients, and say that their whole history is a history of aggression; of aggression by slavery and wrong upon freedom and right, pushing back the antislavery legislation of our common Church step by step; sadly yielded to by us for a while, and when at last we took our stand at the episcopacy, and decided that slavery shall not capture it, his clients made a revolutionary disruption of the Church and established a new one. We, finding the disruption irresistible, adopted a plan by which, after they had made the disruption, peace might be sectionally maintained. That plan his clients first claimed, most untruly, to be an authorization of their disruption, and then themselves ruthlessly broke, violated, and trampled upon that very plan. We carefully observed the plan while it lasted and then legally repealed it. We are now most absurdly called upon to rescind that repeal. Never!

The original platform of our American Methodism was pure and absolute abolitionism. John Wesley, in that immortal manifesto which has been a pillar of fire to our northern antislaveryism in its last forty years' fight, proclaimed the true doctrine of ultra-abolitionism. It was adopted by our founder bishops, Coke and Asbury; it was adopted by our Conference. But the despotic slaveholding oligarchy, by mobs, menaces, and pressures, silenced our bishops, and drove our Churchly legislation back until scarce a shred remained. We sorrowfully concede to Dr. Myers that our "fathers erred;" erred in servilely yielding to the aggressions of the slave power; but their error is palliated by the wonderful versatility of alternate violence, persuasion, and treachery on the part of that black aggressive power. The bottom of northern servility was touched when, in the General Conference of 1840, that humble apology for slavery was issued in reply to the antislavery address from the British Conference, quoted with such self-complacency by Dr. M. as a northern ratification of his own pro-slavery positions. We assure Dr. Myers that we have no more respect for pro-slaveryism in the North than in the South. Like any other iniquity,

intemperance, for instance, it has little reference to latitude or locality. South and North, in different degrees, had share in the guilt; and South and North, in different degrees, have suffered the chastisement of the Almighty.

DEALING WITH BISHOP ANDREW IN 1844.

In the General Conference of 1844, after every other concession had been made to slavery, the final question came up to be tried and settled, *Shall the triumph of the slave power be completed by its possessing our episcopate?* The opposite forces of freedom and despotism in the two national sections were increasing in power, and it was an inevitable issue sooner or later. With freedom and the North it was a settled determination that no slaveholder's ordaining hands could be laid upon the heads of our young ministry. In the South, under the intensifying absolutism of the slave power, a discontent was growing at the hitherto agreed exclusion of slaveholders from the episcopate. The case of Bishop Andrew, who had become a slaveholder by marriage, brought the issue to a point. After a brief period of humility and willingness to resign on his part, it was boldly announced that *he would not be allowed by his brethren to resign;* and it is clear that the unanimous purpose was by the southern delegates adopted that there should be an episcopal slaveholder or a secession. If the northern delegates yielded, slavery was supreme in the Church; if they firmly resisted, then, on some pretext or other, which their desperate wits could invent according to the exigency, the southern section would secede. If the course of the northern delegates in their refusal should be violent or illegal, the pretext would be easy. The course of the northern majority was, however, marked by a defeating wisdom and moderation. They might have justly tried and condemned Andrew for "improper conduct," and direful then would have been the southern howl. But human ingenuity can devise no measure more mild yet efficient to preserve the purity of the episcopacy than the action adopted. His case was brought forward in routine by the Committee on the Episcopacy. The Conference then asked the bishop to furnish his statement of the facts, and that statement it accepted as the whole unquestioned case. It brought against him no charge, passed upon him no penalty, or even censure, but informed him by resolution that it was the "sense" of the General Conference that he withhold the further exercise of his episcopal functions until he had disembarrassed himself of all entanglement with slavery which would render him unacceptable in some sections of the Church. It was further directed that his name should be

retained on the usual documents, and his full episcopal salary be continued. It is painful to note that Dr. Summers once, and Dr. Myers repeatedly, utter the unjustifiable statement, to spread it through the South, that Bishop Andrew was "deposed." It was no deposition, but was simply an enactment directing his episcopal conduct. This mildness reduced the seceders to the sad strait of grounding their action on its very want of judicial action, and on that ground they seceded. The real fact was, that sooner or later the "irrepressible conflict" between the opposing principles of slaveholding despotism and freedom would come to an outbreak; and the glory of our fathers was, that in their share of the necessary disruption such was their moderate firmness that they allowed the southrons to secede only in a mode worthy of their bad cause, namely, with desperate sophistry and unequivocal fracture. And it is the moral misfortune of Dr. Myers that his position requires him, as he interprets it, to defend their course in the same spirit.

THE (FALSELY) SO-CALLED PLAN OF SEPARATION.

As soon as the case of Bishop Andrew was decided, the southern members announced, formally, their purpose of seceding. Thereupon a committee of nine was formed to arrange for sectional peace in case they executed their illegal purpose. This committee reported a plan which our readers will find verbatim in a former *Quarterly*, where its character is ably discussed by Rev. Dr. D. A. Whedon. Southerners have fastened upon this Report the title of the "Plan of Separation," for the purpose of conveying the false impression that it was a plan *authorizing or legalizing the southern withdrawal and establishment of a new Church by authority or sanction of our General Conference.* It was NOTHING OF THE KIND. It was only an enactment that in case we were by them deserted, still, illegal and unconstitutional as that desertion would be, we would stay on our side of a certain sectional line provided they would stay on their side. Of this there is plenty of conclusive proof. During the debate on this plan, Dr. Bangs, who was one of that committee, did, in open conference, in the presence of the other committee men and of the southerners generally, give the following uncontradicted narrative of the formation and purport of that plan:—

"The speakers who have opposed that report have taken entirely erroneous views of it. It *did not speak of division*—the word had been *carefully avoided through the whole document*—it only said, 'IN THE EVENT of a separation taking place,' *throwing the*

responsibility from off the shoulders of the General Conference AND UPON THOSE WHO SHOULD SAY THAT SUCH A SEPARATION WAS NECESSARY."

It was, therefore, the deliberate purpose of the committee in making that report that the General Conference should not be held as preparing a plan for separation, and in accordance with that purpose, as explained by Dr. Bangs, the report was adopted by the General Conference. Leaving the responsibility of the separation to those who withdrew or seceded, it undertook to make such arrangements as, AFTER *the separation* by the unauthorized act of the seceders, should preserve peace between the sections.

Entirely unhistorical and untrue, then, was the statement made by the southern bishops at St. Louis: "We separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us. The separation was by compact and mutual." They did separate from us; and we neither separated from them, nor authorized their separation from us. We formed no "compact" for them to separate; we only enacted that *if* THEY *did separate* we would not go over into their section if they did not come over into ours. This enactment, not to overpass, took no effect until after the unauthorized sectionalizing took place. When, therefore, the Louisville Convention based their inauguration of a new Church, as they did, upon an authorization from our General Conference, they based it upon a non-existence. There never was any such authorization. Their secession and new Church were both illegal and revolutionary.

RESCISSION OF THE PLAN AN INSULTING PROPOSAL.

And now Dr. Myers and his co-thinkers ask us to rescind our repeal of that action, as the so-called Plan of Separation is the only security of their Church property at the time of the secession. We reply that while we do not require our southern brethren to think as we do over our past history, yet we must say with General Grant, in his late speech, "We do not propose to apologize for the part we have taken," and we scout the proposal of rescission as not to be considered. Contrary to Dr. Summers's liberal maxim, the proposal requires us to think as they think and do as they say. We are willing to shake hands in silent oblivion of the past; we are willing with them to kneel down before God, while each prays forgiveness for his share in the common sin; but the proposition that the maintainers of freedom and government must apologize to the assailants of both for such

maintenance is a reverse of the tables altogether ludicrous. It is too much like the culprit expecting the judge to beg pardon for hanging him. We are surprised, however, that such keen-sighted men do not see that the rescission of said plan would have *no effect on the property question.* If the decision of the Supreme Court has settled that question forever, they need no such rescission. If it has not, then there is no act of our Church that divides the property. The General Conference of 1844 did not pretend to possess the power to divide the property; the Plan of Separation does not; and our Annual Conferences to whom the division was in 1844 referred, positively refused. The property then remains undivided to this day.

So far, however, as the legitimate inauguration of their Church is concerned, our General Conference was guilty of the "farce" of proposing to dismiss that question among the departed "bygones," and none of us desired to raise the discussion until Dr. Myers's book reopened the quarrel. And whatever legal action is necessary on our part to pass a statute of amnesty and limitation placing the question of property beyond revival, we should hope our General Conference would be ready to adopt. But certainly Dr. Myers's bitter and accusatory book is not persuasive in this direction. Dr. Bledsoe was allowed for years to indoctrinate the Church South, under its "auspices," with secessionism. This book essays to complete that work by fixing a deep, hostile sectionalism into its entire soul and body. But the plantation days are past, and there is a large and increasing body of noble men in that Church who may not take prescription from Nashville, and who really mean a fraternity of heart. The ultra sectionalists may not find it easy to silence men who have understood the kindly heart of our North, and who cordially, yet with entirely independent spirit, reciprocate its feeling. Such men are Bishop Kavanaugh, Dr. M'Ferrin, Dr. Abbey, Dr. J. O. A. Clarke, Dr. Leonidas Rosser, and Dr. Josephus Anderson. Between such men and ourselves a true and honoring fraternity will, we trust, exist whatever the ecclesiastical politicians may do or say.

POINTS OF LAW TOUCHING OUR EPISCOPACY.

1. There have been lately, even in the editorials of our New York "Christian Advocate," much play and puzzle upon the terms "co-ordinate" and "subordinate" departments of government. The whole puzzle may, we think, be solved by the single thought that *two governmental departments may be co-ordinate in the con-*

stitution, each by turn, and yet be in their action, subordinate to the other. Our national Supreme Court is constitutionally co-ordinate with the President and Senate, yet it is subordinate, nay, is "the creature" of the President and Senate in that its incumbents are by them elected, and it must be governed by all constitutional laws by Congress enacted and by the President signed. The President and Congress are subordinate to the Supreme Court in that their laws are liable to be adjudicated upon by it and declared null and void. So our episcopacy is, we agree with Dr. M., constitutionally co-ordinate with our General Conference; and the former is subordinate to the latter as its constitutional president and executive, and the latter is subordinate to the former, in that it is subject to all the rules and regulations of the former. Co-ordination does not exclude subordination.

2. Let it be remembered that there is an episcopacy as a co-ordinate institution, an episcopate or particular bishop's office, and the bishop or officer. Now, while it is true that the *episcopacy* is a co-ordinate *institution* which cannot be modified or abolished but by the constitutional process, it is not the less true that the *officer*, *the bishop*, is subject in the exercise of his office to the "rules and regulations" of the General Conference. The General Conference is, indeed, in duty bound to legislate not in order to impede or lower, but to aid and secure the purity and efficiency of the bishops in the legitimate exercise of their duties. So legislating it may not only try the bishops for "improper conduct," but may inform them what its "sense" is that they should do or not do; it may lay down rules for their action, and assign them residential districts. This plenary power is right and necessary in order to secure a responsible body of bishops. Dr. Myers has an awful horror of a mad and lawless General Conference, and but little dread of an irresponsible episcopacy. Now, certainly, a General Conference, fresh from the people's vote, existing but a single session, and obliged individually, forthwith, to return and face its constituency, is the safest of all depositaries of power. But a body of life-tenured, irresponsible bishops, which might hereafter amount to fifty or a hundred, with full power in successive conclaves to concoct plans of usurpation, would be a very unsafe permanent oligarchy. A bishop has been for centuries the most absolute despot in Christendom. Entire subordination to the *bona-fide* "rules and regulations" of the General Conference, fresh from the people, was the unquestioned doctrine of the Church until the southern delegations, to meet their case, set up their novel hierarchical claims. Responsibility to the General Conference is

the check upon the bishops; immediate connection with its constituency is the check upon the Conference.

3. If, now, our General Conference in dealing with Bishop Andrew *aimed* to impair the co-ordinate episcopal department, we surrender it absolutely to all the maledictions with which Dr. M.'s "irenic" pages are made horrid. It was a "double-headed monster," a "star-chamber," or any thing else his "paroxysmal" rhetoric pleases. But it did nothing of the kind. It found him involved in an impediment to his episcopal acceptability; an impediment which every previous General Conference had agreed that a bishop must not incur. It simply in the exercise of its power to pass "regulations" expressed its judgment to Bishop Andrew that he should pause, unload himself, and then go on in the exercise of his office. Its intention was not to impair the episcopacy, but to maintain it in its full purity and power. For both the purity of its purpose and the eminent wisdom and delicacy with which it acted, it is worthy of all honor. It was the historic glory of that General Conference to make the first bold and successful stand against the aggressions of slaveholding despotism in our Church, and to aid in awakening that reaction in behalf of freedom which rose into a revolution, and culminated in sweeping American slavery out of existence. Ever honored be the memory of our General Conference of 1844!

Finally, we are glad to say that for the members of our General Conference, and for all others, Dr. Fuller, in our "Atlanta Advocate," is giving Dr. Myers's book a very thorough and annihilating analysis. This able and conclusive refutation will, we trust, be republished in permanent form, and be thoroughly distributed, especially in the South, where falsehood on the subject reigns. It is worth all that "Advocate" has cost us to have such a work there and thus performed.

In our next Quarterly we may treat fully of the Repeal in 1848 of The Plan for peace in case the South seceded, enacted by the Conference of 1844.

Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches. By JOHN J. I. VON DÖLLINGER, D.D., D.C.L., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich, Provost of the Chapel-Royal, etc., etc. Translated, with Preface, by HENRY NUTCOME OXENHAM, M.A., late Scholar of Baliol College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 165. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1872.

Döllinger is one of the potentates of Europe. His immense learning, his great ability, his venerable years, full of intellectual achievements, his leadership of a movement that may tell powerfully upon future history, all combine to render him an oracle to

whom we listen with rapt attention. The subject of these luminous lectures is the future reunion of universal Christendom; the reconstruction of the genuine catholic Church; the re-incorporation of the body of Christ. He looks to this as the sublime condition of the overthrow of anti-Christianity, rationalistic or pagan. He holds with Goldwin Smith:—"As things are, rationalism and fatalistic reveries may be laboriously confuted, but amid the energies and aspirations of a regenerated Christendom they would spontaneously pass away."—P. 27.

He looks upon sectarian schism as an anarchy in which infidelity obtains its triumph. The feebleness of Christian truth arises from "the uncertainty and discordance of the doctrines delivered from the pulpit. The impression left on one's mind is, that the evil lies in the want of confidence and respect of the laity for their preacher, in whom they see a man teaching simply according to the measure of his attainments, and from his own subjective point of view. They have no feeling that he is supported on the broad stream of Christian tradition flowing down through eighteen centuries, and that his message is but the echo of the voice of the whole Church reaching up to Christ; that they do but hear from his mouth what has been always and every-where proclaimed in the name of the Lord."—P. 149.

With this view Dr. Döllinger traces the religious history of Christendom with a masterly hand. When Christendom was an undivided force her missionaries were one, and nations were gained to the Church; now different sections fight each other in the sight of heathens, and are a laughing-stock to unbelievers. This he illustrates by facts like the following:—

In Tahiti, the French Government years ago took possession of the Protestant missions and handed them over to French Catholic emissaries. We know how dear this arbitrary procedure cost the Government of Louis Philippe, on account of the pecuniary indemnification paid to the English missionary Pritchard, which was so cried out against in France. In Madagascar, the emissaries of the rival Churches, Catholic and Protestant, brought matters to such a pass that King Radema oscillated for a year between them, and when he was murdered each party charged the other with the crime, and the mutual hatred and endeavors to supplant one another still continue. In 1845 the Protestant missionaries were ejected from Fernando Po by the Spaniards, who laid claim to the island. That is the spectacle presented by Christians to the gaze of the heathen world. Christ says that every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed. We understand the failure of missionaries. And that is not all. What is to Christians the holiest and most venerable of all places, the birth-land of our faith, where Christ taught, lived, and suffered, is now the meeting-place of Churches that hate one another. Greeks, Russians, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Jacobites, Protestants of various sects, all have there their fortresses and intrenchments, and are intent on making fresh conquests for the rival Churches. To the shame of the Christian name, Turkish soldiers have to interfere between rival parties of Christians, who would else tear one another to pieces in the holy places, and the Pasha holds the key of the Holy Sepulchre. The strife between Latins and Greeks for the possession of the chapel in 1852 was the immediate occasion of the Crimean war.—Pp. 30, 31.

Dr. D. then traces the history of the Reformation. He concedes its absolute necessity. The Church was thoroughly corrupt, and its ruling power at Rome profited by the corruption so greatly that it meant to prevent reform. Revolt, separation, revolution, were the only remedy. The rehearsal by this eminent scholar, who firmly believes in a primacy of the Pope, settles our faith that the Protestant version of history is true and fair. We are not deceived by our great historians. Popery, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, are all that Protestantism has painted them to be. And, in spite of the venerable Doctor's protest, we believe the crimes of that execrable triad justify us in branding them as the "Antichrist" of prophecy. Yet he well shows that western Christendom reluctantly yielded the dogmas of the old Churches. The revolt of the Reformation held itself to be temporary. For a long period Protestantism looked forward to a humbled popedom and a restored unity. Again and again, under leading minds, such as Leibnitz and Grotius, negotiations were conducted in behalf of reunion. Every time it was the absolutism of Rome that broke up every plan. Of the Articles of Trent and the infallibility of Rome in all the past, Rome would not surrender a hair; and the only compromise was the complete submission of Christendom to the supremacy of the Italian bishop. Schism is a sin; Christendom is in a state of schism; and the Pope is the great schismatic. Döllinger is a firm believer in the historical succession of the apostolic episcopacy, and holds its abandonment to be a great mistake in the Reformation and a main obstacle to the full reunion. Episcopacy we understand to be his basis for reconstruction, but in what relation to the Roman primacy we do not understand.

Lost Forever. By L. T. Townsend, D.D., Author of "Credo," etc. 12mo., pp. 443. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1875.

Dr. Townsend writes with an earnest purpose to check that spurious philanthropy which, diffused through our community, views crime as a misfortune, and refuses to find a murderer guilty because capital punishment is itself a crime. Hear some men talk and you would believe we are living in an age of lamb-like tenderness. Take up the newspapers, you find it is an age of ruthless bloodshed, and that it is murderers and their kin who reap all the benefit of this tenderness. The arm of the assassin grows strong as the arm of justice is weakened. This maudlin tenderness that refuses to call crime by the name of crime, and refuses to demand justice as its stern correlative, Dr. T. holds to be in accordance

with, if not the consequence of, that maudlin theology that blots justice from among the attributes of God.

Hence he seeks to reassert the stern old doctrines of the great body of the Church of all past ages. There is a divine Law; man is a responsible being. There is a capital punishment under the divine government, and the being divinely sentenced to it is "Lost Forever." To eternal Death there is no Resurrection. Based on the Bible, confirmed by the terrors of God in nature, accordant with our intuitive views of the moral Law of the universe, the immutable truth ever stands that the penalty of incorrigible guilt is an undone eternity. That this truth needs reasserting is clear from the fact that there are large numbers of evangelical Christians who are relaxing into Universalism, Restorationism, and after-death probationism.

The "British Quarterly," the organ of the Independents of England, contains the following startling statements on this subject in a notice of a book by Baldwin Brown:—

> Why should he affirm that he is not a Universalist, when he means only that he cannot accept the ordinary method of Universalism, so as to regard universal repentance and restoration as predetermined by a decree, instead of resulting from purely moral processes? The essence of Universalism is the issue, not the process. Clearly Mr. Brown is a Universalist in the sense of believing that ultimately all will be saved, although he is wisely reticent in affirmation about the means; and this is the whole issue. Beyond all doubt, *the dogma of eternal penal reduction has been tacitly abandoned; no congregation scarcely would now endure its unequivocal preaching.* But there is before us a great question, and probably a great controversy concerning its alternative. In our judgment, that is not necessarily Universalism. The most terrible thing about moral evil is, that *it is*, even apart from its issues; and there seems no warrant either in moral philosophy, Scripture, or human experience, for putting such a moral impotence upon possible exercises of human freedom as to say that it *must* work to one issue. This is the weak point of all forms of Universalism, Mr. Brown's included. With him, we are contented to leave it to Him who is Love; only we would do so before intimating our own theory, not, as Mr. Brown does, after. It is a poor faith that tells God first that the "lost rebellious spirit must bend the knee at the name of Jesus, and enter life through his love;" and then that, inasmuch as we know nothing about it, we will leave it to him, because "we have no power to formulate the doctrine of the last things." We would, too, again venture to suggest that Mr. Brown scarcely need anticipate martyrdom for his discourses. In all avowals of honest opinion some will be offended. Few public teachers escape this in some form or other. It is part of the cost that every wise man counts. But after all it does not, happily, in these days amount to much; it is scarcely worth talking about. The martyr spirit that talks much about itself is not perfect in its heroism, and it is hardly worth while for any man to pin on for himself the black cloak of the *auto da fé*.

History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews. By EDWARD A. ATWATER. 8vo., pp. 443. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

So inspiring was his theme, that after thirty years of pastoral work Mr. Atwater retired from the pulpit to devote himself to its investigation. Under the guidance, very cautiously followed, of

the rationalistic Bähr, with extended independent investigations of his own, he applies the methods of science to the depths of his subject. In nine chapters he seeks as far as possible to ascertain the exact structure, furniture, and mode of erection of the tabernacle, and its officers, sacrifices, lustrations, calendar, migrations, and expenses. Thus is laid a solid structural and historical basis. Then in the second part, of eighteen chapters, he endeavors to penetrate the significance of the tabernacle. It was theology, framed in wood, both of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. It was visible prophecy. It spoke to an illiterate age, not in letters, but in images and symbols. And those images and symbols reign through the Bible from Exodus to the Apocalypse, and by a full exhibition alone can the holy word be fully understood. From the ancient tabernacle flows a stream of light and illustration down to the latest chapters of our sacred books. The symbolisms of number, form, color, minerals, vegetables, and animals, all are pregnant with meaning, and form an impressive language of their own.

The work, in both its evidencial and illustrative character, is full of suggestions. The preacher will find it full of starting-points for sermons, and rich with sacred imageries to enliven their style. The Sabbath-school teacher who desires to be thoroughly accoutered for his work will find here a whole armory. Mr. Atwater's volume fills a blank place in our sacred literature, and should be a well-read book in every minister's library.

Methodism and Its Methods. By Rev. J. T. Crane, D.D., of the Newark Conference. Author of the "Right Way," "Popular Amusements," "Arts of Intoxication," "Holiness the Birthright of all God's Children," etc. 12mo., pp. 395. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Dr. Crane's volume discusses in free and liberal spirit the history and institutions of our Church, with a view not only to the coming General Conference, but to the permanent use of our thoughtful men: our first organization; our itinerancy, with its lights and shadows; our episcopacy, our presiding eldership; and, finally, the prospects and perils of our future. In style it is fresh, animated, and eloquent; in temper, conservative-progressive; in purpose, loyal, yet free. Its universal perusal would be a universal benefit.

Christians and the Theater. By Rev. J. M. Buckley. 12mo., pp. 156. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Mr. Buckley first states the views of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Churches in past days, and finds blended rejection and permission of the theater, save in the stricter phases of Prot-

estantism. The battle between the spiritual part of the Church and the theater has been a "conflict of ages." He considers and shows the fallacies and dangers of the various defenses of the stage. He brings the discussion to a close issue by a searching examination of the moral character of the plays brought on to the stage at the present day in our city of New York. The result is a solemn inference of the irreformable immorality of the theater, demanding a firm opposition on the part of the Church. The work is written in a clear, critical style, very calm in tone, yet very decisive in conclusion.

The Life of Christ. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Master of Marlborough College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Complete in one volume. With an American Appendix, giving over five hundred Translations of non-English matter contained in the work. 8vo., pp. 744. Albany, N. Y: Rufus Wendell. 1875.

This Life of Christ we noticed with high commendations on its first appearance in this country from the English press as decidedly the best in our English language. Mr. Wendell's enterprise of adapting it to the popular reader, and then circulating it by special agencies among the people, is a public benefaction. The large number of passages in the ancient languages were an obstacle to its popularity which is now removed. It is, thence, a book for the million, and we hope a million will read it.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Paralysis and other Affections of the Nerves; Their Cure by Vibratory and Special Movements. By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, M. D., Author of "Diseases of Women," "Exposition of the Swedish Movement Cure," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 161. New York: Samuel R. Wells.

The dynasty of drugs, if not wholly death-smitten, has been largely circumscribed by the invasion of modern therapeutic inventions. First came Hahnemann with his infinitesimal doses, and not only compelled the drug dealers to mitigate the ferocity of the old administrations, but has raised a large medical practice, proved by statistics to be quite as curative in its mild power as the old savageism. Then came Pressnitz with his water-cure, and proved that external application of one of the commonest elements in nature was a powerful remedial agent in a large class of cases. Next came the Swedish movement-cure, which demonstrated that in another large class of cases persistent motion of a certain kind produced decided curative effects. But the great difficulty in this system was the impracticability, arising alike from patient and administra-

tor, of performing the motions with a persistent energy and regularity. Last comes Dr. Taylor, and proposes to render this system amply efficient by the application of machinery propelled by steam.

You enter Dr. Taylor's room, and find it well lined with iron machines on one side and cushioned lounges on the other. You approach one machine to which is attached an iron shoe, and "put your foot into it." Instantly the shoe begins an iron vibration by steam-power, and, with your heel for a center and foot for a radius, the toe of your boot is made to describe the arc of a circle of three inches or so both ways, between one and two thousand times a minute. Forthwith a genial warmth impregnates your foot, and slowly streams through the interior of your leg kneeward. The caloric fluid gradually floods the molecules of your crural members in a style perfectly delightful to the frigid or rheumatic flesh and blood. This operation of about ten minutes being closed, the feeling of subsidence within your feet reveals to you to what an excitement they have been raised. For ten minutes you recline upon the lounge, to allow the full effect upon the system. Next you take seat upon another iron machine, and two projectiles grasp your leg with a blended vibratory and frictional motion powerful as the previous, and its application to every part of the limb, from hip to toe, carries the caloric flood downwards. You close with the lower man impregnated with a most generous glow, and again repose upon the lounge the due time. Thus, by various mechanical methods performed successively upon every part of the body, alternated with reposes, the entire system is filled with warmth, not applied by artificial means to the surface, but pervading the depths of the interior man. The process is most agreeable to the suffering patient, and he can endure its experience without irksomeness two hours a day through the secular days of the week. One of the latest announcements of science is that heat is a mode of motion, and motion is a mode of heat; so that Dr. Taylor's method is singularly in accord with "modern thought."

The curative effects of this treatment, it is claimed, are somewhat of the following character:—1. Both by the mechanical effect of the vibration and the caloric streaming in between particles the congestions, "settled blood," sore spots, and swellings are disturbed, a solution is produced, and the effete molecules are drifted off. 2. Oxidation is produced. To understand this we must remember that the human system is a *furnace*, whose vital heat is produced by a perpetual inward *combustion*. The food we eat, consisting mostly of carbon, (that is, *coal*,) constitutes the fuel, and the oxygen (the universal burner) is the fire. Nearly all disease

implies that the furnace is clogged and the combustion impeded. Now vibration shakes the coal and the fire into vigorous collision, and the flame of life burns anew. 3. The capillary tubes, filled up with effete matter, are compelled by persistent vibration to throw out their burden and to return to their proper functions. 4. Of course, by all this process the circulation is cleared and attains new vigor and activity. 5. Finally, the nerve centers are reached by the renewed health and power of the contiguous parts of the system. Such is the theory. And our non-professional impression is that Dr. Taylor's invention will hold an important and permanent place in the future healing art.

The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added two brief Dissertations on Personal Identity, and the Nature of Virtue. By JOSEPH BUTLER, LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. With a Life of the Author, copious Notes, and an ample Index. The whole edited by Rev. JOSEPH CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., President of Wesleyan University. 12mo., pp. 395. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

This edition of the great English ethical classic being the latest is easily the best, as Dr. Cummings has gathered all the advantages of the previous into it with some additions of his own. It is worthy to be adopted as the standard edition by all our colleges. The work itself will stand while great moral thought exists in the world. And Butler's sermons, stating the fundamental ethical principle, are well worthy republication. He was the first to place the doctrine of right upon its true basis, not as a product of will or power, but as a simple eternal reality in itself.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Theistic Conception of the World. An Essay in Opposition to Certain Tendencies of Modern Thought. By B. F. COCKER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan; Author of Christianity and Greek Philosophy. 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

This volume is thus far Dr. Cocker's masterpiece. It deals with the high themes, amid which he loves to dwell, with rare ability. His well-cut sentences, transparently expressing the thought, roll through the whole volume like a lofty-sounding oration. It handles the great question of the day, which is fast becoming the very existence of God, partly with the answer of detailed objection, but, more usually, by positive self-evidencing statement of the conception, relying on the ratification which our intuitive

receptivity will give to his affirmations. He belongs to the high *à priori* school. He is an intuitional positivist, just as Comte was an empirical positivist. A certain tinge of Cousin and Coleridge runs through his style of thought. He has an aspiring faith after the elevated; believes that the sublimest and most ennobling views are the most real; and refuses to allow the *true* to be wrenched and torn from the *beautiful* and *good*. Such a philosophy necessarily soars to and rests in the Divine. It finds the perfected unity of beauty, goodness, and truth in Him, and delights to recognize Him, in spite of the degradations that seem to alloy the world, as ruling and reigning through the great Whole.

The work presents four leading topics:—1. *God the Creator*, his existence and nature, as primordial cause of all. Of the four primordial suppositions, *matter*, *force*, *thought*, *will*, which lie at the basis, respectively, of materialism, necessity, pantheism, theism, the author selects the last as alone solving the problem. God is centrally omnipotent WILL. And here, in stating the unconditionality of this Will, is the only point on which we think it important to dissent from the positions of the work. For that unconditionateness, the author thinks it necessary to assume that not only matter, but *time and space, are caused to exist by Will.* 2. *Creation*, its metaphysical possibility and psychological conceivability, and its true history according to Moses and science. Herein we have a beautiful exhibit of the Mosaic cosmogonical narrative as the "Psalm of Creation." 3. *Conservation*, in which the contact and bearing of God on the material world, and his immanence in, and transcendence over, the physical system are treated. 4. *Providence*, or God in mundane and human history, in which, among other modern problems, the prayer-gauge is fully argued. 5. The divine *Government* of responsible man, in which the doctrines of our grand Arminian theology are stated with fearless frankness and masterly ability. The march of the thought is stately and ever onward. The lovers of high theological science will enjoy a rich treat in the perusal of this magnificent volume.

Martineau, the brilliant defender of Theism in England, has lately made the unfortunate concession to the *scientists* (rather than to any real *science*) that *matter*, as well as *time* and *space*, is increate and eternal. Dr. Cocker, in his former volume, admitted the uncreatability and eternity of time and space; but in view of Martineau's unnecessary concession, our author reverses the whole case, and affirms there is nothing increate but God, and time and space are by him caused. Our own view is that space is *vacuity*, absence of all occupant; that it is as truly extended as

matter; is optically divisible into parts by imagined lines or walls, but is essentially indivisible and infinite. And as being vacuity and true nonentity, that is, *nothing*, it is not the subject of creation, and is the limitless back-condition of all occupancy by existence. It is that anterior inexistence which is logically necessary to all existence. It cannot, therefore, be created. The passage from the "North American Review," (page 69,) rejected by Dr. C. as presenting no idea at all, seems to us to present the precisely true idea. It is, in fact, almost a repetition of our own words in a work previously published, which Dr. C. has repeatedly done the honor to quote.

Dr. Cocker amply affirms, on page 216, that between two objects, at a distance from each other, with no object intervening, there is "pure empty space;" which he affirms is identical with nothing. Hence we have the equation space=nothing. From this starting point let us take a glass pump, so perfect that it can be absolutely exhausted of every thing, leaving nothing but empty space=nothing. Now this space=nothing has extension as really as so much water; for it does extend from wall to wall, and from roof to floor, of the glass receiver. If Dr. Cocker here should arrest us and say, "Nonsense, how can nonidentity have extension? we reply, We cannot tell, dear doctor, but you see that it has extension with your own eyes. And you yourself, on page 216, admit the possibility of ninety-two million miles of pure space=nothing. And if there may be ninety-two miles of space=nothing, then there may be half or quarter of that length; so that space, vacuity, nihility, nothingness, is divisible, measurable, and made up of parts. Now we may say that this extent of space within the walls of the receiver is a portion or part of general space, divided by the walls from the outside space; and in that sense we may say that space is "divisible." Or we may say that you cannot cut a piece of space, as an ice-man cuts a cubic piece of ice from a large mass of ice, and remove it; and in that sense space is "indivisible." And this seems to solve that contradiction which Dr. C. condemns, committed by writers who affirm alternately, that space is "divisible" and "indivisible." If now you smash your glass receiver at a blow, you will remove the optical division between the interior and exterior space=nothing. And if you in thought remove all limitations, you get, in necessary thought, unlimited space=nothing; that is, you get immensity of space=nothing, in which saying we do not "confound immensity with space." And this immensity of space=nothing is to us the anterior condition-thought, the absolute precedent to all positive existence. To say

that it is "caused," as Dr. C. affirms, or made or created as other philosophers affirm, is as absurd to our thought as the idea of its being annihilated is to Dr. Cocker.

We might define space as *the permanent possibility of positive occupancy.* This might remind folks of Mill's definition of matter as "the permanent possibility of a sensation." Each of the two formulas furnishes a true predicate of its particular subject; but neither is an essential definition, since both specify not the intrinsic property of the subject, but only express a consequence of its existence. But if our formula furnishes a true predicate of space =nothing, then to suppose it eternal is only to say that it is the eternal possibility of occupancy by God's own omnipresent being. For all language, hitherto, and all thought, has affirmed that God's omnipresence is in universal space.

And if space is a possibility of occupancy, then the non-existence of the occupant does not, as Dr. C. seems to think, destroy the space. The destroying of the walls of the above glass receiver does not destroy or affect the space formerly held between the walls; it simply removes the wall which cut it off from exterior space. Destroy all the astronomic bodies, and all the existing space-filling substances, and neither the extension, divisibility, nor real existence of space would be affected; there would still be unlimited or infinite pure space. And that infinity of pure space is, we think, as Dr. C. does not, rightly conceivable, as an infinite number of parts of space. Is not a year of time a part of eternal time? Would not an infinite number of years be eternity? Would not an infinite number of parts of space be infinite space? We cannot, therefore, agree that "an infinite series" of years or time-points, for instance, "is a contradiction."

Dr. C. seems to have joined that class of philosophers who think that any thing supposed to exist eternally must either be caused by God, or be in an offensive sense "independent" of God. If God act under any conditions, then, alas! he is no longer the 'Unconditioned." Of such reasoners we humbly ask, Does not God exist under the *necessity* of being? Is he not under the "condition" of a *necessity* of existence? Does not the eternal necessity of his own existence "rule" him? Can omnipotence annihilate itself? Is, then, that necessity of existence, which he cannot overrule, in an offensive sense "independent" of God? Again, is not God subject to the law of non-contradiction? Can he cause the same entity to be and not be? Is that law of non-contradiction created by God? If so, then God is subject to no laws of reasoning, and all reasoning about him is at an end. Yet these writers

abound in statements as to what God must be; what, in given cases, he must do. And all theology consists in suppositions and reasonings implying that there are things not the product of will, even supreme Will, not subject to power, even Omnipotence.

The reasons for rejecting the idea of uncaused realities seem not valid. When Herbert Spencer says, as quoted, "If we admit that there can be something uncaused, there is no reason to assume a cause for any thing," (which dictum is contradicted by Spencer's own uncaused absolute,) we do not assent. We might as well be told that if something is blue, every thing must be blue. Each thing must be judged by its own perceived attributes. When I see the attribute of *blueness* or of *uncausedness* in an object, I am able to affirm it without affirming that any thing else is blue or uncaused. Some things may be necessary and eternal, and so uncaused; other things may be contingent and temporal, and, therefore, unable to exist without a cause. And so Dr. C. wisely limits the axiom of causation, that things that *begin to be* must have a cause. The pyramids of Egypt bear marks of contingency, and so must be held to be caused; but the geometrical laws, according to which all architecture exists, are necessary, and so uncreated. That a clover should have four leaves requires a cause; but the arithmetical law that two and two are four requires no cause. And Dr. C. himself affirms, (p. 391,) that complete cause causes *uncausedly*. And so while matter exhibits the attributes of temporal phenomenality and manufacture, time and space, and the ethic basis of right, are increate and eternal.

The Mosaic Account of Creation the Miracle of To-day; or, New Witnesses to the Oneness of Genesis and Science. To which are added an Inquiry as to the Cause and Epoch of the Present Inclination of the Earth's Axis, and an Essay upon Cosmology. By CHARLES B. WARRING. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. 1875.

Mr. Warring's work essays to show that the days of the Mosaic narrative of the creation are literal days, and the whole story exact history. He allows, indeed, seven stupendous periods of time, in each of which a great process was prosecuted and completed; but of each period there was a final finishing literal day, and these seven finishing literal days are the seven days of Moses' narrative. There is so much science and ingenuity in the process that we admire and sympathize with Mr. Warring without being at all able to adopt his theory or his book. When we are told by Moses in the Fourth Commandment, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth," and are required to interpret him literally, we must say that the process of making was going on during the

hours of the day and no other time. But when we are told that ages on ages intervened severally between the days, we think it follows that Moses stated the fact incorrectly. And if even every word is literally true, the whole conveys a false meaning; and finally you thus escape the figurative only by a catch. You avoid symbolism, but you fall into what is much worse, riddle.

We would far rather fall back into harmony with Augustine, and other Christian fathers, and avow that these were not literal but "ineffable days." We would, indeed, borrow from "modern thought," both in its better modes of exegesis and its deeper science, a modern interpretation. We first analyze the component parts of the Mosaic narrative of creation, and find therein the double triad of three created receptivities and three occupancies. The natural conclusion therefrom is that this succession of "days" is that of an order of the writer's thought, and not of chronology. Not but that the order of the text may, by allowing great periods to lap over upon each other, coincide with the actual progress of the cosmogonical development. Dr. Dana has, we believe, shown that it actually does. But accurate chronology is not the writer's object. We next examine the structure, and find that it is complex, yet artistic, organic, and complete as a unit within itself. Next we examine the style, and find that it is wholly unlike the second chapter; but is measured, rhythmical, figurative, and picturesque. We finally remember that the process it describes lies back of human origin, was never seen in its events by human eye, and is consequently apocalyptic. We then, for our own individuality, feel perfect repose in the assumption that it is a psalm of the creation, composed, perhaps, by Adam, and chanted in the patriarchal antediluvian Church. We commend the rich analysis of the passage by Dr. Cocker in his late volume.

Literature and Fiction.

Thy Voyage: or, A Song of the Seas, and other Poems. By Rev. E. F. Burr, D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc. Seventeen Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 60. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

The second line of Dr. Burr's poem, a hexameter, reading as follows,

> "Autumn-woods sprinkled with blood of the wounded year,"

betokens a true poet. It is as striking and more poetical than John Foster's sarcasm upon a lady's crimson embroidery as being

"red with the blood of murdered time," of which it is a resemblance, but not an imitation. It is a line that might sweetly yet solemnly haunt the walker through the Indian-summer forests of New England. But is the line a happy non-such, which the poet cannot equal with another? Read what immediately follows, and you will find that his mind is a mine of gorgeous imageries:—

> "Blue sky where a single great cloud-barge drifts gently,
> With its bulwarks of silver and opal and gold,
> Whence lean (pity our gross eyes see them so faintly)
> Our guardian spirits, all gently tilting down
> From out as many pictured cornucopias,
> Faint musics, perfumes, zephyrs, sparkles, tinted gleams,
> Freshly culled from gardens just this side heaven."

This beautiful, thin red-and-gilt-octavo does not do up the fancies and rhythms of the poet any too gorgeously.

The Catskill Fairies. By VIRGINIA W. JOHNSON, author of "Joseph, the Jew," "A Sack of Gold," "The Calderwood Secret," "Kettle Club Series," etc. Illustrated by Alfred Fredericks. 8vo., pp. 163. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Mrs. Johnson tells her stories so prettily, vivified by pictures claiming to be drawn from life, that you might be beguiled into believing that there actually are fairies up the North River somewhere. But this book, like Drake's "Culprit Fay," and Irving's "Sleepy Hollow," is all a figment, a mere *sell.* We have been up there ourself, and know that her fairies are mere woodchucks. Nevertheless, young children, and old children too, are fond of being made fools of, and Mrs. Johnson's yarns are, for both, most excellent foolery.

Summer Days on the Hudson: The Story of a Pleasure Tour from Sandy Hook to the Saranac Lakes. Including Incidents of Travel, Legends, Historical Anecdotes, Sketches of Scenery, etc. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. Illustrated by One Hundred and Nine Engravings. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Dr. Wise has discovered no fays or fairies up the North River country, but he wakes up the slumbering historic memories at every step. Externally as well as internally the book is a gem, glowing with pictures, and gorgeous with gold and red.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Christliche Ethik. (*Der Sündenfall und die Sünde.*) Von P. T. Culmann. Stuttgart.

The second part of Culmann's *Ethics* appeared some years ago. We refer to it here simply in order to present the author's conception of the fall and of sin in general. He is dissatisfied with the ordinary conception; let us see whether his own betters the matter. His view is: Man stilled his hunger for God, not with the food offered by God, but with a satanic gift. Thus Satan entered into him, not as a personal giver, but as an impersonal gift. But in this gift the giver lay in germ. So long as this germ was not fully developed, man was not fully possessed by Satan, and was hence redeemable. So long as the Church regards merely the formal side of disobedience in the fall, it cannot fully understand sin. It must regard not only the form of the law, but also the contents. The content here was the satanic gift that was *taken into* man. In this fall man was deceived, and hence became only a half-devil instead of a whole one, as would have been the case had he fully appreciated what he was doing. It is only his impersonal nature-side that was infected by depravity. But this infection was real and positive. Had man let himself be tempted merely to lust after the forbidden fruit, then an act of his moral freedom would have sufficed to repair the damage. But he went further: he ate, and thus took satanic *substanee* into his being. Hence he is impotent for self-delivery. He cannot eject this substance from his nature: he can simply negate its full development. Satan has taken a part of the fortress: man cannot expel him from this, but he can veto his taking the rest. Herein lies his remaining liberty. But this liberty is fruitless. The human organism being infected with satanic substance, the actions of man are evil, notwithstanding his disapproving will and judgment. The bent of the human machine is downward, and the helmsman cannot reverse it. And this, too, not in the sense of the mere material body, but in that of the very substance of human nature. Hence the actions of the unregenerate *must* be sinful. If the view that sin is mere formal disobedience were correct, then mere repentance would obtain justification; for if man is to forgive his repenting brother "seventy times seven times," much more would God do so to his erring children. But mere repentance does *not* suffice. This view of Culmann is also opposed to the notion that the forbidden fruit was a sort of poison. For though a poison might work the disso-

lution of the body, it could not also ruin both soul and spirit. It is also opposed to the Augustino-Protestant notion that the fall wrought the utter ruin both of man's nature and of his person. If man was totally ruined, then he was totally worthless, and God would not have given him any further attention. Upon the occurrence of the fall God adopted measures of redemption. Chiefly he gave to man an *object* whereon he might fix his personal pleasure, love and desire, and thus set a dam against the further inroads of his involuntary satanic tendencies. This object was the promised Christ. It was to be so assimilated by *faith* as finally to render any further inroads of Satan impossible. But how was Satan to be expelled from his hold upon man's impersonal nature-side? The satanic substance had to be expelled by the assimilation of a divine substance. This takes place in the eucharist. Christ's eaten body does for our *nature* what his beloved character does for our *spirit*—expels the satanic substance which constituted our depravity.

Such is Culmann's view. It has the faults inherent in any view that regards sin as a substance. Such views all end in sacramentarianism or magic. If sin was objectively put into us, then it has to be objectively taken out. But sin is not a substance; it is simply the perverse action of moral agency, together with the perverse character or second nature thereupon resultant.

Die Erziehung der Jugend. (Pedagogics.) Von F. Ascher. Berlin: F. Berggold.

A very fresh, suggestive book on the very trite subject of child-training. Young parents and all young people would find great profit in it. It is very practical. In style it is popular and sententious. Let some young aspirant in translating try his hand on this little work. It would be well for our people to be able to compare German family notions with our own Young-American, so as to judge of the difference; for German family management is confessedly very successful.

Miscellaneous.

THE splendid LINE ENGRAVING PICTURE of Bishop Simpson is a new and highly improved style of presenting the counterpart of our magnates to the Church. Of the photographs heretofore circulated, some are good, but many are a misfortune to the original. This picture is of good size, live and like, giving the top of the Bishop's best expression.

The Wesleyan Demosthenes: Comprising Select Sermons of Rev. Joseph Beaumont. With a Sketch of his Character. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 444. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The departure of Dr. Wakeley to the blessed land will render this volume a dear memento to thousands who have listened to the music of his own eloquent voice. His heart was drawn toward Beaumont by a portion of kindred genius.

Beaumont was a true child of genius, with, like Maffit, some of the eccentricities of genius. Nature made him an orator, and his sermons are stirring in the perusal, as they carried all before them in the delivery. They may be safely read as models of the best Methodist preaching.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost. The Believer's Privilege. By Rev. E. DAVIES, Author of "Believer's Hand-Book," "He Leadeth Me," "Juvenile History of Bishop Asbury," "Book of Anecdotes," "Choice Hymns." 12mo. For sale by Rev. E. Davis, Reading, Mass. James P. Magee, John Bent & Co., Willard Tract Society. James H. Earle, and Congregational Publishing House, Boston, Mass. Rev. A. Wallace, J. B. M'Cullough, and Perkinpine & Higgins, Philadelphia, Pa.

God's Way; Or, Gaining the Better Life. By Mrs. M. A. HOLT, author of "John Bentley's Mistake," "Working and Winning," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 150. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

What God Does is Well Done. From the German of C. G. Salzmann. By Miss E. T. DISOSWAY. 12mo., pp. 304. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

Toward the Straight Gate; or, Parish Christianity for the Unconverted. By Rev. E. F. BURR, D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc., and Lectures on the Scientific Evidences of Religion, in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 535. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. 1875.

A Summer Parish. Sabbath Discourses, and Morning Service of Prayer at the Twin "Mountain House," White Mountains, New Hampshire, during the Summer of 1874. By Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. Phonographically Reported by T. J. Ellenwood. 12mo., pp. 231. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.

The Vedder Lectures, 1875. "The Light by which we See Light;" or, Nature and the Scriptures. A Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, and Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey. By TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., L.H.D., Union College. 12mo., pp. 246. New York: Board of Publication of the R. C. A. 1875.

The Patriarch of One Hundred Years. Being Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Rev. Henry Boehm. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Hope Raymond; or, What is Truth? By Mrs. E. J. RICHMOND, author of "The Harwoods," "The M'Allisters," "Adopted," "The Jeweled Serpent," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 213. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Berean Question Book, (International Series,) for 1876. 18mo., pp. 142. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Lesson Compend for 1876. By Rev. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, A.M. 12mo., pp. 135. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Marian's Mission; or, The Influence of Sunday-Schools. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. 12mo., pp. 283. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Brought Home. By HESBA STRATTON, author of "Jessica's First Prayer," "Nelly's Dark Days," "Bede's Charity," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 221. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Bertram Family. By the author of "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family." 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

The Little Trowel. By EDITH WADDY. Two Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 164. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Gipsy's Adventures. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 174. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Little Foxes. By the author of "How Marjorie Watched," "Helena's Cloud," "For Earth or Heaven," etc., etc. Three Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 176. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Two Paths. By Mrs. RICHMOND, author of "The Harwoods," "The M'Allisters," "The Jeweled Serpent," "Adopted." "Zoa Rodman," "The Fatal Dower," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 238. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Pre-Adamite; or, Who Tempted Eve? Scripture and Science in Unison as Respects the Antiquity of Man. By A. HOYLE LESTER. 12mo., pp. 164. Philadelphia: Published for the Author by J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

A book of some loose science, and looser rhetoric, maintaining the doctrine of the plurality of human races, and its consistency with Scripture. Eve's primeval fall was her seduction by a pre-Adamite Mongol into miscegenation. Such fooling is below the dignity of types. The works of Poole and M'Causland on this subject are worth study.

Social Impurity the Sin of the World in all Ages. The Causes and the Remedy. By Rev. J. J. FLEHARTY, of the Central Illinois Conference. With an Introduction by Rev. GEO. W. COLMAN, of the Bureau Association. 12mo., pp. 179. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author. 1875.

The Conquest of Europe. A Poem of the Future. In fourteen short Cantos. By CONFUCIUS. 12mo., pp. 35. 1876.

A Practical Course with the Spanish Language. On Woodbury's Plan with German. By H. M. MONSANTS, A.M., late Assistant Professor in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and LOUIS A. LANGUELLIER, LL.D., late Tutor in the College of the City of New York. 8vo., pp. 398. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co.

John Todd: The Story of His Life Told Mainly by Himself. Compiled and Edited by Rev. JOHN E. TODD, Pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, New Haven, Conn. 8vo., pp. 529. New York: Harper & Brothers.

John Winthrop and the Great Colony; or, Sketches of the Settlement of Boston, and the more Prominent Persons Connected with the Massachusetts Colony. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 207. Two Illustrations. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Select Poems of Oliver Goldsmith. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. 12mo., pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers.

From Jest to Earnest. By Rev. E. P. COE, author of "Barriers Burned Away," "What Can She Do?" "Opening A Chestnut Burr." 12mo., pp. 548. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Easy Lessons in German. By W. H. & E. K. WOODBURY. 12mo., pp. 237. New York & Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. 1875.

Mehetabel. A Story of the Revolution. By Mrs. H. C. GARDNER. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 372. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

An Island Pearl. By B. L. FARJEON, author of "Bread, and Cheese, and Kisses," "London's Heart," "Blade of Grass," "Golden Grain," "The King of No Land," "Joshua Marvel," "Jessie Trim," "Grif," "At the Sign of the Silver Flagon," etc. 12mo., pp. 70. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Might and Mirth of Literature. A Treatise on Figurative Language. In which upward of six hundred writers are referred to, and two hundred and twenty figures illustrated. By JOHN WALKER VILANT MACBETH. 8vo., pp. 542. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Select Dialogues of Plato. A New and Literal Version, chiefly from the Text of Stallbaum. By HENRY CARY, A.M., Worcester College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 551. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Leofwine, the Saxon; A Story of Hopes and Struggles. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 301. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Elfreda. A Sequel to Leofwine. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia." "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. Five Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 311. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Hostages to Fortune. A Story. By Miss M. E. BRADDON, author of "Aurora Floyd," "A Strange World," "Lost For Love," "John Marchmont's Legacy." "Birds of Prey," "Eleanor's Victory," "Fenton's Guest," "Bound to John Company," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 159. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The Abbe Tigranes, Candidate for the Papal Chair. By FERDINAND FABRE. Translated by the Rev. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo., pp. 372. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.

Farm Legends. By WILL CARLETON, author of "Farm Ballads." Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 131. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Notices of the following books postponed to the next number:—

Murphy on the Psalms. From Hurd & Houghton.

Luthardt on John's Gospel. Scribner & Co.

Van Lennep's Bible Lands. Harper & Brothers.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1876.

ART. I.—LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA:

THE LAST OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHERS.

L. Annæi Senecæ Philosophi: et M. Annæi Senecæ Rhetoris quæ extant opera. Two vols., folio. Parisiis. 1607.

The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, both Morall and Naturall. One vol., folio. London. 1614.

The Epistles of Lucius Annæus Seneca, with large Annotations. By T. MORELL, D.D. Two vols., folio. London. 1786.

Abrégé Analytique de la Vie et des Œuvres de Sénèque. Par A. VERNIER. One vol., 8vo. Paris. 1812.

De L. Annæi Senecæ Vita atque Scriptis. C. G. VAIGHT edidit. One vol., 8vo. Jenæ. 1816.

Seneca's Morals: by Way of Abstract. One vol., 8vo. London. 1818.

Specimen Literarium Inaugurale Exhibens Senecæ Librum de Providentia. B. A. NANTA edidit. One vol., 8vo. Lugd. Batav. 1825.

Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Göttingen. 1852, 1853.

Saint Paul et Sénèque. Recherches sur les Rapports du Philosophe avec l'Apôtre. Par AMEDÉE FLEURY. Two vols., 8vo. Paris. 1853.

New Brunswick Review. New York. 1855.

L. Annæi Senecæ Disciplinæ Moralis cum Antoniana Contentio et Comparatio. A. HILGENS edidit. One vol., 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1857.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Rev. A. HILGENFELD. Vol. I. 8vo. Jena. 1858.

Sénèque et Saint Paul. Étude sur les Rapports supposés entre le Philosophe et l'Apôtre. Par A. AUBERTIN. One vol., 8vo. Paris. 1869.

Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By THOMAS LEWIN. Two vols., folio. Second edition. London and New York. 1875.

I. SENECA'S RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was the last great representative of the Stoic philosophy. To the student of the philosophical and religious relations of paganism to Christianity, his writings—although they reflect in a measure the decadence of the post-Augustan period—are of more importance than those of any

Greek or Roman author. For this there are two reasons. First, because his philosophy is the final and hopeless exhibition of the inability of the pagan mind, after its long but futile attempt both to solve the mysteries of our being and to establish safe rules of conduct; and, second, Seneca's moral philosophy embodies the unconscious and mysterious approach of pagan wisdom to Christianity. It was, to the Roman world of thought, the Baptist preparing the way for a system mightier than any it had known. Here, too, we find some explanation of the fact that no man has ever received from his fellows, both of his own and later times, a more diverse judgment than Seneca. The Roman authors who describe him, taking Tacitus or Quintilian as examples, were generally unfavorable, though Juvenal dared to express a preference of him to Nero, the Roman emperor:—

> "Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
> Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni."

Early Christian writers, as Jerome, Lactantius, Augustine, and Tertullian, refer to him in terms of high commendation. Augustine speaks of his being conversant with the apostles, and Jerome says he deserves to be ranked among the saints. Lactantius, who elsewhere calls him a "divine pagan," thus gives him a rank above all the Stoics: "Seneca, who was the sharpest of all the Stoics—how great a veneration has he for the Almighty!" Indeed, so warm was the admiration of him by the primitive Church that the tests of historical criticism were forgotten, and he was regarded as practically a Christian, if not an intimate friend and an admirer of Paul himself, during the closing period of his life. The Roman Catholic Church has always held him in high veneration, and at the Council of Trent he is referred to as one of the Fathers of the Church. The French critics, as a rule, have been extremely favorable to him. Montaigne prefers him to Cicero, and, in his "Defense of Seneca and Plutarch," thus acknowledges his great obligation to the two: "The familiarity I have had with these two authors, and the assistance they have lent to my age and to my book, which is wholly compiled from what I have borrowed from them, oblige me to stand up for their honor." Diderot reverses his previously unfavorable

judgment, and passes a high eulogy upon him. Rollin, often called the French Quintilian, commends the variety of his attainments, the depth and exactness of his philosophy, the wealth of his imagination, and the general purity of his style. The most recent criticism, such as that of Zeller in Germany, and of Martha and Aubertin in France, partakes more of the judicial spirit, and praises and blames according to the requirements of justice.*

II. Personal History.

Marcus Aurelius Seneca, the father of Lucius Annæus, was a native of Spain, and belonged to the strong and rich Roman colony of Corduba, (Cordova,) which was planted on the banks of the Bætis (the modern Guadalquivir) by Marcus Marcellus when prætor in Spain. It was afterward elevated to the dignity of Colonia Patricia, by which it had the privilege of sending senators to Rome. The family were of the equestrian order, and possessed considerable wealth. Helvia, the wife of Marcus Aurelius Seneca, was a woman of many endowments of mind, and is frequently alluded to in the writings of her son. Lucius Annæus was born at Corduba about B. C. 7. He had two brothers, the older being Marcus Annæus Novatus, (afterward changed by adoption to Junius Gallio,) and the younger, Lucius Annæus Mela, who became the father of the celebrated poet Lucan. Martial thus speaks of this triple character of the family: "*Et docti Senecæ tres memoranda domus.*" The family removed to Rome when Lucius Annæus was about two years of age. His youth was passed during the reign of Tiberius, and he enjoyed all the literary and social advantages which the station, wealth, and personal care of his father, himself an orator of great culture, could afford. He made a visit to Egypt, probably of considerable length, while his uncle was prefect of that province. To this fruitful episode in Seneca's life are due the frequent references in his writings to that country, particularly in his "Natural Questions;" and very likely he was the real author of Nero's organization of an expedition for the discovery of the sources of the Nile—the first attempt in history to solve the mysteries of that wonderful river. Liv-

* Cf. "Westminster Review," 1867, pp. 43, 44.

ingstone, Barth, Baker, Rohlfs, Speke, and Schweinfurth, have only followed in Roman footsteps.

The studies of Seneca were first in the department of eloquence and the affiliated sciences. But he exhibited gradually a taste for philosophy, from which the persuasions of his own wife were not strong enough to alienate him. His father, likewise, was loath to see his talented son devote himself to a class of studies then in decline, and not promising either political or social advancement, and used his influence to have his son become an advocate. Seneca, however, seems to have had a large measure of liberty, for he enjoyed the instructions of the best Roman interpreters of the Greek philosophy, such as Papirius Fabianus, Attalus, Demetrius, and Sotion. Of this last he was very early a disciple, as he says in one of his epistles: "*Modo apud Sotionem puer sedi.*" So great was the influence of the Pythagorean philosophy, as represented by Sotion, upon him, that he became an ardent believer in the transmigration of souls, and proved his faith for a time by becoming a vegetarian, as the eating of animal food could be hardly less than parricide to one of that belief. The first public labors of Seneca, however, were according to the wishes of his father, for we find him exercising the functions of the public advocate, acquiring a just celebrity for eloquence, and even producing his first literary fruit in this department. The same paternal influence is also perceptible in Seneca's becoming a candidate for the quæstorship or treasurership, in which he was successful. During his incumbency of this office he became an object of jealousy on the part of the Emperor Caligula, who grew angry with him on the sole ground that the young orator pleaded too ably one day before the Senate in his presence. That emperor was only prevented from putting him to death by representations of one of his mistresses that it was hardly worth while, as Seneca was a hopeless consumptive, and would soon die at all events. Caligula was succeeded by his uncle, Claudius, and the latter was in power but a short time before his wife, the corrupt Valeria Messalina, who became jealous of the favor shown by her husband to his niece, the beautiful Julia, took her revenge by charging Seneca with an illicit intrigue with the latter. The result was, that Seneca was banished to the island of Corsica, where he remained eight years

This exile was a transitional period in Seneca's mind and life. He had been married, and had two children. His wife, whose name is unknown, was now dead. He married a second time, his wife being Paulina. One of his children, a boy, died twenty days before his father's exile to Corsica. The other, Novatilla, was committed by her father to the care of his mother, Helvia, with these words: "Fold her to your bosom; she has lost her mother; she seems to have lost her father. Care for her. Love her for me." Once in Corsica, Seneca betook himself closely to the study of his much-loved philosophy. This proved to be a productive period of his life. Of his lonely home he had nothing good to say. He satirized every thing about him, and thus complained that Corsica was poor in every thing—but exiles:—

> "Barbarous land which rugged rocks surround,
> Whose horrent cliffs with idle wastes are crowned,
> No autumn fruit, no tilth the summer yields,
> Nor olives cheer the winter-silvered fields:
> Nor joyous spring her tender foliage lends,
> Nor genial herb the luckless soil befriends;
> Nor bread, nor sacred fire, nor freshening wave;
> Nought here—save exile, and the exile's grave!"

Polybius, now the favorite at court, lost his brother, and Seneca addressed him from his lonely Corsica an epistle on "Consolation," in which he shrewdly combined the good advice of bearing patiently what we cannot escape, with fulsome adulation of Claudius Cæsar. But this flattering proved quite unnecessary, for either it was never reported to the emperor by Polybius, or, if that man had the temerity to do it, it had not the slightest effect upon his master to recall the philosopher from exile. Now came Messalina's day of retribution, for, having formed an illicit alliance with the young and handsome Caius Silius, she died a wretched fugitive, and Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, succeeded her as empress. This latter made use of her influence with the emperor for securing the return of Seneca from exile. It was a stroke of policy on her part to gain popular favor for herself and her son, Domitius, (Nero,) for Seneca was a great favorite in Rome, and no more adroit management could have been adopted by the empress for the accomplishment of her plans.

The life of Seneca henceforth became intimately connected with Nero. He became prætor, and the tutor of young Nero. Tacitus, who is the chief authority for what we know of the life of both Nero and his preceptor, thus states the purposes of Agrippina: "Agrippina obtained for Seneca a revocation from exile, and with it the prætorship, favors which she supposed would be well pleasing to the public on account of his signal eloquence and accomplishments; besides her own private views, namely, the education of her own son, Domitius, under such a master, and the use they should make of his counsels, both to obtain the empire and to govern it." Agrippina secured the death of her husband by poison, and now the great plan of her life was successful—her son, Nero, became Roman emperor. Farrar says of her absorption in the interests of her son: "Whatever there was of possible affection in the tigress nature of Agrippina was now absorbed in the person of her child. For that child, from its cradle to her own death by his means, she toiled and sinned. The fury of her own ambition, inextricably linked with the uncontrollable fierceness of her love for this only son, henceforth directed every action of her life. Destiny had made her the sister of one emperor, intrigue elevated her into the wife of another. Her own crimes made her the mother of a third." *

Claudius was no sooner dead than Seneca, true to his temporizing character, made him the object of his keen satire, and at the same time bestowed fulsome eulogy on the young Nero. This ruler did, indeed, promise well until his seventeenth year, but soon afterward he manifested a restiveness and recklessness that gave Seneca good ground for fearing that his imperial disciple might any moment become his oppressor. Agrippina prided herself on her influence over her son; but when she found that he had become weary of his wife, Octavia, and formed a secret alliance with the freed-woman Acte, her indignation became violent and public, for she was shrewd enough to see that this change in Nero was fatal to her own share in the empire. She directed her hostility particularly at Seneca and Burrhus, the joint tutors of Nero, who, according to Tacitus, did what they could to restrain the vices of the young emperor, and saw only evil in the general influence of his

* "Seekers after God," p. 113.

wicked mother.* The mother, out of revenge for her son's throwing off her influence, threatened to bring forward Britannicus, the son of Claudius, as the real heir to the throne. Nero now needed to act promptly, and the result was, as there is every reason to believe, that the speedy death of Britannicus was caused by Nero, who was then only in the first year of his wretched reign. Imputations have been cast by various writers —Merivale among the rest—upon both Burrhus and Seneca as probable accomplices; but there is no proof that such was the fact. This much is certain, however, that Seneca soon afterward wrote his "Essay on Clemency," dedicating it to his pupil, Nero, in which he extols that virtue as especially beautiful in rulers, and represents Nero as a remarkable illustration of it.

This essay possesses for all Protestants a singular interest, and we must digress a moment to narrate its association with the Reformation in France. Francis I., king of France, was a relentless persecutor of the Huguenots, and after his return from Spain, whither he had been taken as a prisoner by Charles V., after the battle of Pavia, was as hostile as ever to his Protestant subjects. Calvin, then a young man of twenty-three, had been laboring on a commentary on Seneca's "Essay on Clemency." He was a great admirer of the Roman Stoic, and to reproduce for his own countrymen one of his essays was his first work, in which he engaged after turning his back upon his preferments and faith of Roman Catholicism. He was amazed to find so little attention paid to Seneca, and resolved to do his part to supply the want. "He was annoyed," says Merle d'Aubigné, "that the world had not given him the place he deserved, and spoke of him to all his friends. If one of them entered his little room and expressed surprise at seeing him take such pains to make the writings of a pagan philosopher better known, Calvin, who thought he had discovered a ton of Gospel gold in Seneca's iron ore, would answer: 'Did he not write against superstition? Has he not said of the Jews, that the conquered give laws to their conquerors? When he exclaims, 'We have all sinned, we shall all sin unto the end!' may we not imagine that we hear Paul speaking?"† He was mourning the death of Berquin and other Protestants, and

* "Annales," xiii, 2, etc.

† "History of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin," vol. ii, p. 85.

feared that many more would fall. He knew that the king was passionately fond of new books, and he hoped that this literary venture of his would find its way into his hands, and that he might be influenced by its sentiments, especially where Seneca urges Nero to mild measures, showing him that any other course is not only futile, but also impolitic and injurious. Such words as these, from Seneca, were now uttered in the ears of Francis I.: "Clemency becomes no one so much as it does a king. You spare yourself, when you seem to be sparing another. We must do evil to nobody, not even to the wicked; men do not harm their own diseased limbs. It is the nature of the most cowardly wild beasts to rend those who are lying on the ground, but elephants and lions pass by the man they have thrown down. To take delight in the rattling of chains, to cut off the heads of citizens, to spill much blood, to spread terror wherever he shows himself—is that the work of a king? If it were so, far better would it be for lions, bears, or even serpents, to reign over us!" This was Calvin's first production, or, as he called it, "the firstlings of his print," and was dedicated to one of his early associates of the Mommor family, Claude Hangest, Abbot of St. Eloi, April 4, 1532, with these accompanying words: "This, with all that I possess, belongs of right to you; for I was nurtured as a child in your house, and instructed into the same studies with you." The young man had only the common experience of novitiates in authorship, for he found no publisher willing to undertake the doubtful enterprise of issuing it. He resolved to publish it at his own expense, scanty as his means were; but when the printing was completed he said: "Upon my word, it has cost me more money than I had imagined." * His money was gone, and to his friend Daniel he again wrote: "I am drained dry, and I must tax my wits to get back from every quarter the money I have expended." The young author's name on the title-page was Calvinus, and henceforth Cauvin, the family name, became, in literature and theology, *Calvin*. He wrote to Daniel on the 23d of May: "At length the die is cast; my Commentary on Clemency has appeared." Shortly afterward he wrote: "Write to me as soon as possible, and tell me whether my book is favorably or coldly received. I hope that it will contribute to

* Plus pecuniæ exhauserunt. Calvinus Danieli, Geneva MSS.

the public good." As to the effect of the work on the king's mind, nothing is known. "Did the king read the treatise?" asks Merle d'Aubigné. "We cannot say. At any rate Calvin was not more fortunate with Francis I. than Seneca had been with Nero."

We now return to Seneca's life. Agrippina became an object of just suspicion on the part of her son, Nero, and the question was only one of time which should succeed in ridding the world of the other. A report was brought to Nero one night that Agrippina was plotting for his overthrow by the substitution of Plautus on the throne. The charge was unjust, and Agrippina was successful in having her accusers condemned, and herself restored to the favor of her son. The calm lasted four years, the end of which marked the completion of Nero's golden age — "the famous Quinquennium" — during which Seneca and Burrhus had been the actual rulers, and the affairs of the government had been administered with an ability and success that commanded universal admiration. But now Nero broke loose from all restraint, the occasion being another charge that Agrippina was plotting against her son. Nero promptly resolved upon his mother's death, and his plan was worthy of his general inhumanity; for he arranged that a pretended public reconciliation between his mother and himself should take place at Baiæ, but that the bolts of the vessel on which she should return to her retreat should be loosened, and his victim drowned. She escaped death by water, but shortly after fell by the blows of assassins. Anicetus was the first to strike her, and she replied: "Strike my womb, for it bore Nero." Her supreme passion for her son's ruling continued, however, to the last, and it is said that she uttered the words: "*Occidat dum imperet*"—Let him slay me if he only reign! Recently an attempt has been made to justify Nero against the charge of parricide; but the deliberate judgment of Tacitus, Josephus, Dion, and Suetonius, is unequivocal in the admission of his guilt.

What part did Seneca play in these scenes of blood? On this subject the opinion of his contemporaries was divided. First, there were many who believed that he was cognizant of the attempt of Nero to drown his mother. The weight of testimony here is in his favor. Even Dion admits that "there

was no proof of Seneca's complicity in the imputed crime of Nero." Second, it was alleged that Seneca was an abettor in the murder of Agrippina at the hands of Anicetus and his soldiers. This is not proved, and the probability is against it. There is no likelihood that he attempted to dissuade Nero from the crime, for he was pretty sure that "if the son did not kill the mother, the mother certainly would kill the son." Tacitus reports that Seneca not only charged Nero with the crime, but repudiated all share of responsibility for himself. But no amount of charity can acquit Seneca of writing Nero's statement to the Roman Senate, that Agrippina did fall by her own hand. This was not only false, but amounted to a direct connivance at the crime.

It was now Seneca's turn to become involved in hopeless difficulties. Nero having become weary of his wife, Octavia, determined to substitute Poppæa for her. It was this woman who, by "her tears, her blandishments, and even her sarcasms," was the real author of Nero's murder of his mother, for the great aspiration of her life was to become empress, and she knew that so long as Agrippina lived this hope could never be realized. In Nero's proposition to cast aside Octavia and take Poppæa as his wife, he was gently opposed by Seneca. The nobles, long jealous of the philosopher, now found it easy to alienate the emperor's mind from him. Seneca saw his danger, and offered to surrender his just wealth to his master, and withdrew from the city, pleading his delicate health and love of study. Nero gave no formal consent, but Seneca lived in comparative retirement. The enemies of Seneca reported to Nero that the philosopher was a participant in Piso's conspiracy. Seneca succeeded in disproving all share in the plot but again begged permission to retire, for Nero's burning of the city and persecution of the Christians, and the great prevalence of social disorders and crimes, proved that the old teacher no longer had the slightest influence over him. Again his request was denied. The conspiracy of Piso now assumed threatening proportions, and charges were brought against Seneca with greater plausibility. Nero resolved on his death. The philosopher was found at his villa, Nomantanum, in the society of his beloved wife, Paulina. He heard his sentence with stoic calmness, and begged only the privilege of making some

additions to his will. This was refused. For the particulars of his death we are indebted to Tacitus. The philosopher said to his friends, that since he was disabled from requiting their benefits, he bequeathed them that which alone was left him, yet something more glorious and amiable than all the rest—the pattern of his life. He begged them not to weep for him. He implored his wife to "moderate her sorrow, to beware of perpetuating such a dismal sorrow, but to bear the death of her husband by contemplating his life spent in a steady course of virtue, and to support his loss by all worthy consolations." But Paulina would not be comforted, and attempted to put an end to her life. Seneca, seeing her deep devotion, gave his consent in these words: "I have laid before thee the delights and solaces of living; thou preferrest the renown of dying. I shall not envy thee the honor of the example. Let us equally share the fortitude of an end so brave; but greater will be the splendor of thy particular fall." At the same moment the two had the veins of their arms opened. Seneca's blood flowed very slowly, and then he ordered the veins of his legs to be opened. His sufferings becoming intense, he persuaded his wife to withdraw to an adjoining room, lest the courage of each might fail by witnessing the agony of the other. Nero ordered that Paulina's death be prevented, and so her wounds were bound up. She lived but a few years, in feeble health, her greatest joy being the memory of her husband. But no clemency was visited upon Seneca. His death coming too slowly, he requested his friend and physician, Statius Annæus, to administer poison to him. This was unnecessary, for it failed to act upon his thin body. He then had recourse to a hot bath, but this failing, he was removed to a vapor bath, or *sudatorium*, where he expired amid the fumes. His secretaries and slaves were about him, and on them he sprinkled water, with the formula of a libation: "To Jove the Liberator!" His body was burnt privately, without any funeral ceremonies, according to the arrangements he had made when in the splendor of his power and full enjoyment of his great wealth. Some writers, as Sicco Polentone, who have imagined that Seneca was a Christian at heart, represent that his final words were an invocation to Christ, and that he baptized himself with the water of the bath. But this is only a beautiful fiction.

III. Estimate of Seneca's Life and Character.

Seneca cannot be judged properly without a careful regard to the times in which he lived. Every great character reflects his period. This reflection need not be that of the prevailing sentiment. Sometimes, as in the case of great reformers, it is that of a protest against it. Even then, however, it is the reflection of the protest which the better spirit of the age bears within itself. Martin Luther, one man standing out in antagonism to his contemporaries, was but the embodiment and reflection of Europe's aspiration of reform for three centuries. Seneca's chosen field was that of a moral teacher, and it is unreasonable to expect that, with only a pagan culture, and that at a time of Rome's moral decadence, he should exhibit either in his personal life or philosophy such an example as we could fairly expect from the simpler and purer Roman days, to say nothing of any Christian period. No age has surpassed that of the Cæsars, particularly the later ones, in splendid iniquity. Horace could well say: "The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandsires, has produced us, who are yet baser, and who are doomed to give birth to a still more degraded offspring." Juvenal, fifty years later, could affirm: "Posterity will add nothing to our immorality; our descendants can but do and desire the same crimes as ourselves." Farrar, in referring to this testimony of contemporary witnesses, groups the evil characteristics of the times of Seneca under five heads: 1. The violent contrasts in social condition; 2. Atheism and superstition; 3. Excessive luxury; 4. Deep sadness; and, 5. Boundless cruelty. It was in the midst of such a civilization that Seneca lived and wrote, and the wonder is that we find so much in him that contrasts favorably with the spirit and life of his times. His genius, position, and the wishes of his father, first brought him within the circle of the political maelstrom. He frequently strove, later, to escape all contact with political life, and we must suppose his efforts sincere. We fully believe that the most unfavorable opinion of Seneca's complicity with Nero's guilt can apply only to the latest period of his life, when he found himself involved in the meshes of that emperor's cruel policy. Lipsius well exclaims: "How happy would Rome have been if Nero had continued to follow the advice

of Seneca as he began! For what could be more commendable than the earlier years of his life, while under the direction of Seneca?" That he was a willing party to any wrong act, even his most severe critic, Dion Cassius, seems hardly to believe; but that he was a party at all was both his crime and misfortune, and from the two there is no possibility of acquitting him. The most that can be done is to give him the benefit of a careful weighing of the palliating circumstances which surrounded him. Much stress has been laid upon Seneca's enormous wealth. Tacitus refers to it, but declares that Seneca's wealth had no effect upon his temperate, and even austere, life: "Seneca, with a diet exceedingly simple, supported an abstemious life, satisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit from the wood, and of thirst by a draught from the brook." The philosopher began life with great wealth, and after his return from exile, and during his tutorship of Nero, there came vast accessions to it from the hands of that ruler. He had treasures in other lands, as Egypt and Britain, and, like his wealthy contemporaries, derived immense revenue from money at interest. Tacitus nowhere charges Seneca with guilt in the acquisition or retention of it. Seneca, even requesting Nero to take from him his fortune, used the following noble language: "Order the auditors of thy revenue to undertake the direction of my fortune, and annex it to thine own; nor shall I by this plunge myself into indigence and poverty; but, having only surrendered that wondrous opulence which exposes me to the offensive blaze of so much splendor, I shall redeem the time which at present is employed in the care of pompous feasts and gardens, and apply it to the repose and cultivation of my mind."

The misfortune of Seneca's career was his tutorship of Nero, and while in the early exercise of this office he used every means to guard his pupil against wickedness. Later, however, when he could no longer control him, he seems not to have hesitated to approve of the misdoings of Nero. He was, perhaps, still in the hope that, by this means, he might moderate the violence of the youthful despot. But this was no sufficient ground for vacillation, or for practical approval of wrong, even though exile or death was the certain penalty.

IV. Seneca's Philosophy.

The position which Seneca occupies as a philosopher is not that of an originator so much as an expounder. We must content ourselves, here, with merely indicating his relation, as a philosopher, to his times, and his position as a believer in the Divine being and in the moral laws which He has imposed upon the universe. While Seneca adopted the general principles of the Stoic system, he by no means adhered strictly to them, but seems to have reserved to himself the large rights of the eclectic thinker. The Roman mind was not at all adapted to the repose and equanimity which form a fundamental element in Stoicism. It was only after popular liberty was lost, when the government became a thing that lay within the reach of the most ambitious and unscrupulous, and morals became corrupt, that we find any tendency to fall back upon the resources of the mind itself. Says M. Aubertin:—

> The establishment of the empire, while pacifying eloquence and suppressing liberty, did not enfeeble philosophy. It gave it, on the other hand, a higher importance, a less uncertain credit, and more faithful partisans. In the general abasement, in the mental waste and the incurable ennui where so soon the ardor of the noblest souls was chilled, philosophy, the sole consoler amid this fearful disgrace, offered to the conquered, if not an impossible hope, at least a refuge and an indemnification. Hence, says Horace, the faithful interpreter of the delights of the contemporary mind, it became "the work of all the days, of all the ages, and of all the conditions." This world, grown old and condemned, there found its remedy and salvation. Philosophy gathered up the fragments from the irreparable shipwreck of liberty.*

How this change in the condition of Roman political life involved a new employment of the mind, and that in the direction of Stoicism—the last resort in sorrow for every unchristian heart—has been very strongly stated by a writer in the "Westminster Review:"—

> In the age of Seneca the fashionable Epicureanism of the earlier empire had been supplanted by the philosophy of the Porch. Roman independence had been destroyed; Cæsar sat like an embodied destiny on the throne of the world, the terrestrial correspondent of the overruling Fate, the great cosmical unity, the generalized expression for the irrevocable order and irrevocable succession of individual or collective causes, in which men were inserted at the

* "Sénèque et Saint Paul," p. 103.

hour of their birth. A philosophy that encouraged political action could not but give offense. The true wisdom was to conquer the troubles of life by silent endurance; the true compensation for the abandonment of power or place was to be sought in retirement, resignation, the inward serenity which can neither be given nor taken away. The Stoical disinclination to a public career, or any form of political activity, tended, with more or less consciousness, toward the ideal of Apollonius of Tyana, who announced that he had no interest in the republic, but lived under the rule of the gods. From criminal preoccupation, from enervating luxury, from the satiety, the danger, and corruption of the times, the young, the ardent, the aspirant to a higher life, turned away to seek a refuge in the internal resources of the Stoical retreat, a predisposition typifying the ultimate separation of the temporal and spiritual power. Stoicism thus became a religious philosophy, a code of moral precepts, of prudential regulations accommodated to the various exigences of life. Of this school of practical wisdom and pious speculation, Seneca was for a considerable time the distinguished chief.*

Between Cicero and Seneca this Stoic philosophy took root in Rome. The period was resplendent with a group of minds that seem to have derived all their inspiration from Greece, and yet to have comprehended well the moral needs of their own day. Says M. Aubertin:—

> Leaving Cicero, and coming right to Seneca and his neo-Stoical contemporaries, what do we find? A philosophy abundant in new perspectives and of vast consequences. The basis of doctrine has undergone a transformation. The spiritualism of these philosophers has a character of mystical exaltation, impassioned raving, and religious enthusiasm unknown to the author of the Tusculan orations. Whence comes this new character, marked by such visible characteristics? It is the natural result of the labor of these eighty-six years that separate Cicero and Seneca. . . . The latter has left us a lively picture of these fruitful years; he is full of the reading of his masters; he hears their voice, cites fragments of their discourses, and reproduces their opinions with that vividness of imagination which is the dominant faculty of this remarkable mind.†

These philosophers did not neglect metaphysical study, but their taste lay chiefly in the department of morals. Seneca, while he was a careful gleaner from his immediate Roman predecessors, and always cites them in support of his opinions, went far beyond any of them in the development of his system. Seneca's view of Deity is essentially that found in the Stoic

* Vol. for 1867, pp. 71, 72. † "Sénèque et Saint Paul," pp. 101, 102.

system in its best state. There is a supreme God, who is the soul of the world. He has operated on matter as organizer, not as creator. Matter is eternal, but disordered, and only waited for the divine soul to bring it into harmony. Matter has no soul; it is simply inert and passive, and subject to the power of God. God is the divine reason, placed in the world. While God has made the world out of pre-existent matter, he has not been able to change its essence. This accounts for the reign of evil, for matter has essentially an evil principle. God has supreme control over human affairs. He descends to men, and dwells with them. Our condition is fully known to him. It is to him that we live, and to him that we must approve ourselves. We must so live that God will see only good in us, for he sees just what we are. "There is no need," says Seneca to Lucilius, "to lift your hands to heaven, or to pray the ædile to admit you to the ear of an image, that so your prayers may be heard the better. God is near thee; he is with thee. . . . A holy spirit resides within us, the observer of good and evil, and our constant guardian. As we treat him, he treats us. At least no man is without God. Can any one ever rise above the power of fortune without his assistance? It is he that inspires us with thoughts, upright, just, and pure. We do not, indeed, pretend to say *what* God; but that a God dwells in the breast of every good man, is certain." * This universe could only be restrained from ruin by the presence of God. The least events and the lowest lives are known to him. We must, therefore, submit fully to God. Our condition may be wretched, but this is sometimes a necessity for our discipline. God could relieve us from misery, but then that would not always be best. We are in a condition which requires training and the highest culture.

Seneca, in his entire ethical system, went far beyond his times. "He seems," says Gillett, "as if by a flash of intuition, to apprehend the moral relations of men, and the proper aims and duties of human life. He sets himself up as a teacher —not an example, for he confesses his imperfections and deficiencies—and his words are memorable alike for their terseness and their worth. That he stood aloof from Christianity —that the vigor of his years had passed before he could have

* Epistola xli.

had any knowledge of Christianity—adds to our surprise." * The ethics of Seneca are based upon God's identification with the universe and his presence in human life. Here belongs the brotherhood of man. We are not isolated in any sense, for the whole family of humanity is united by the bonds of a common origin. Nature made us relatives when it begat us from the same materials and for the same destinies. It planted in us a mutual love, and fitted us for a social life. What is a Roman knight, or freedman, or slave? These are but names that spring from ambition or injury. Our country is the world, and our guardians are the gods. Slavery, therefore, is to be condemned as a crime against God. "Seneca," says Lecky, "has filled pages with exhortations to masters to remember that the accident of position in no degree affects the real dignity of men; that the slave may be free by virtue, while the master may be a slave by vice; and that it is the duty of a good man to abstain not only from all cruelty, but even from all feeling of contempt toward his slaves." † All exhibitions of a man's rights to make another suffer are cruel in the extreme. Gladiatorial contests, therefore, have no possible apology. Such amusements are "brutalizing, savage, and detestable." Man must imitate the natural world, where each has his right, and his own part to play. In nature we find apparent disturbances and irregularities. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and violent storms, would seem to be abnormal. But this is not the fact. They are only the evidences of the reign of cosmic law. To show this order in nature was the design of the "Natural Questions" of Seneca, perhaps more than any other work of antiquity the direct forerunner of Humboldt's "Cosmos." That work of Seneca was valued by Montaigne more highly than any other, because of its having been written in old age, after the temptations to the enjoyment of popular and imperial favor had ceased. We close our reference to Seneca's philosophy by citing the general view, as just as it is forcible, of a writer, already referred to, in the "Westminster Review:"—

> Free from the superstitions of the populace, exalted above the illusions of Stoical orthodoxy, replacing the multiplicity of gods

* "God in Human Thought," vol. i, p. 253. † "History of Morals," vol. i, p. 324.

by the unity of the divine nature, and substituting for external worship the spiritual adoration which lies in the knowledge of God and the humble imitation of his perfection, Seneca, as a competent authority observes, holds a foremost rank among those who represent in its highest purity the elevated moral conception which classical antiquity attained. True to the old Stoical traditions, he yet gave predominance to the religious point of view, introducing into his teaching a difference in degree that was almost a difference in mind. Hence his theology became more human—his deity more personal. Contemporaneously with the missionaries of a new faith, he insisted on the necessity of obedience to the will of God, of a life in harmony with the divine nature, of the presence of God in the soul of man, of the slave as well as the free, of self-surrender to the Providence that orders the world, as the ground of all internal freedom and peace. The practical character of his morality, his conviction of human weakness and imperfection, his lessons of mercy and forgiveness, his doctrine of forbearance and indulgence to human infirmity, his ideal of the married life, his estimate of true friendship, his spirit of universal love and divine impartiality, at once attest the nobleness of his moral aspirations, and illustrate the mutual approach of the wisdom of the Greek and Roman world, and of the enlarging piety of a less exclusive Palestine. The work that Seneca endeavored to do, however imperfectly, must always have a profound interest for the student of that great religious revolution which formed a crisis in the history of the human race, not only on general grounds, but because, to borrow the remarkable expression quoted by M. Martha from the eloquent Tertullian, it was "*testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ.*"*

V. Works of Seneca.

Seneca's writings have not all been preserved. We have the greater part, however, and from those still extant we can well appreciate Quintilian's statement concerning him, "that he treated on almost every subject of study; for both orations of his, and poems, and epistles, and dialogues, are extant."† It is not probable that any leading work of Seneca has been lost, for being a great favorite in the early Church, the interest in his writings served to preserve them, while those of less favored Roman authors were neither copied nor cared for. The list of his works, as given by George Long in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," forms the basis of our catalogue.

* Vol. for 1867, p. 84.

† "Inst. Orat.," x. 1, § 129.

1. *De Ira.* This was addressed to Novatus, and was one of Seneca's earliest works. 2. *De Consolatione ad Helviam Matrem Liber.* Written to his mother during his banishment to Corsica. One of his purest and best works. 3. *De Consolatione, ad Polybium Liber.* Composed in the third year of Seneca's Corsican exile. Diderot and others maintain that it is not by Seneca, because it is unworthy of him. But the external evidences are too strong. 4. *Liber de Consolatione, ad Marciam.* Written after Seneca's return from exile, and designed to console Marcia for the loss of her son. Marcia was the daughter of A. Cremutius Cordus. 5. *De Providentia Liber.* "A Golden Book," says Lipsius. Seneca proves here that Providence has a power over all things, and that God is always present with us. 6. *De Animi Tranquillitate.* Written shortly after Seneca's return from banishment, when he was prætor, and had become Nero's tutor. The object is to discover the true means by which peace of mind can be attained. The author, surrounded by all the splendors of the court, writes as one very ill at ease. 7. *De Constantia Sapientis, seu quod in Sapientem non cadit Injuria.* Addressed to Serenus, and founded on the Stoic doctrine of the wise man's impassiveness. Lipsius says of it: "This book betokens a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence; in a word, it is one of his best." 8. *De Clementia ad Neronem Cæsarem Libri duo.* There is too much flattery in this work. It is here that Seneca relates the anecdote of Nero's unwillingness to sign a sentence of execution, and his exclamation: "I would I could neither read nor write!" The second book is incomplete. 9. *De Brevitate Vitæ.* Written to Paulinus, and recommending the proper employment of time, and the best means to derive wisdom from our life. 10. *De Vita Beata.* Addressed to his brother, L. Junius Gallio, and pleading that there is no happiness without virtue, though health and riches have their value. The conclusion is lost. 11. *De Otio.* Sometimes joined to *De Vita Beata.* 12. *De Beneficiis.* In seven books, addressed to Ebucius Liberalis, and explaining the way of conferring a favor, and the duties of the giver and recipient. 13. *Epistolæ Morales.* One hundred and twenty-four, written to Lucilius, and consisting of moral maxims. Composed for the most part in the latter period of Seneca's life, and comprising his moral

reflections after losing imperial favor. 14. *Apocolocyntosis.* A satire on the deceased Emperor Claudius. It is a play on the word pumpkin, and means pumpkinification, or the reception of Claudius among the pumpkins. 15. *Quæstiones Naturales.* In seven books, addressed to Lucilius Junior, dealing with questions of natural history, and comprising copious extracts from various Greek and Roman authors. 16. *Tragediæ.* Ten tragedies are attributed to Seneca by various Latin writers, Quintilian among the number. (Inst. Orat., ix, 2, § 8.) They bear the following titles: *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais* or *Phœnissæ*, *Hippolytus* or *Phœdra*, *Œdipus*, *Troades* or *Hecuba*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Œtæus*, and *Octavia*. As the titles indicate, the subjects are mostly from the Greek mythology. They are written in Iambic senarii, interspersed with choral parts, in anapæstic and other meters. None of these tragedies are adapted to the stage, and were never intended for that purpose. They were designed for reading or recitation, after the fashion of the Roman rhetorical training. Moral sentiments abound in them all, as with every thing that Seneca wrote.

VI. Editions.

The *Editio Princeps* of Seneca was issued in Naples, 1475, in folio. The edition of J. F. Gronovius, (Leyden,) 1649–58, is in 4 vols., 12mo.; that of Ruhkopf, (Leipzig,) 1797–1811, 5 vols., 8vo. The French writers, as stated above, probably through the impulse of Montaigne, have bestowed great attention on Seneca, both in textual criticism and translation. Lagrange's version is the best. In England, the first edition of *The Workes of L. Annæus Seneca, both Morall and Naturall*, translated by Thomas Lodge, appeared in London in 1614, with a Latin dedication to Chancellor Ellesmere. An English translation of the Tragedies, by several hands, appeared as early as 1581. Bähr, in his *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*," vol. i, gives a copious bibliography relating to Seneca.

VII. Relations of Seneca and St. Paul.

To the student of sacred and ecclesiastical history the question of the relations of Seneca and St. Paul is one of the most interesting connected with the boundary line between Chris-

tianity and the pagan philosophy. The coincidences between the writings of the two are among the unsolved problems of literary history. Every writer on the subject concedes them to be striking, and those who do not admit an acquaintance have difficulty in explaining the parallelism. The most common solution of the latter class is thus expressed, by the writer already referred to, in the "Westminster Review:"—

> This resemblance is only one among many instances of the drift of the common consciousness under the same impelling winds of motion, to a similar or analogous intellectual and moral deliverance. The common thought, the common feeling, the common misery, the common aspiration—in a word, the common development of the human mind, had manifestations unlike, yet not all unlike, in Greece and in Judæa; and Saul of Tarsus and Seneca of Rome, each in his own way, acknowledged the smiting presence of the new light that was dawning on a half-expectant world.

Of the co-operative character of the writings of St. Paul and Seneca as great moral teachers, Merivale thus speaks:—

> Far different as was their social standing-point, far different as were the foundations and the presumed sanctions of their teaching respectively, Seneca and St. Paul were both moral reformers; both, be it said with reverence, were fellow-workers in the cause of humanity, though the Christian could look beyond the proximate aims of morality and prepare men for a final development on which the Stoic could not venture to gaze. Hence there is so much in their principles, so much in their language, that agrees together; so that the one has been thought, though it must be owned without adequate reason, to have borrowed directly from the other. But the philosopher, be it remembered, discoursed to a large and not inattentive audience; and surely the soil was not all unfruitful on which his seed was scattered, when he proclaimed that God dwells not in temples of wood or stone, nor wants the ministrations of human hands; that he has no delight in the blood of victims; that he is near to all his creatures; that his spirit resides in men's hearts; that all men are truly his offspring; that we are members of one body, which is God and nature; that men must believe in God before they can approach him; that the true service of God is to be like unto him; that all men have sinned, and none performed all the works of the law; that God is no respecter of persons, ranks, or conditions; but all, barbarian and Roman, bond and free, are alike under his all-seeing Providence.*

* "History of the Roman Empire," vol. v, pp. 457, 458.

The early faith of the Church attached much importance to the acquaintance and friendship of these two men—the one representing all that was vital, aggressive, and hopeful in primitive Christianity, and the other all that was truthful and worthy in the latest Stoic philosophy. We can, therefore, look upon the production and wide circulation of a spurious correspondence of fourteen letters between them as only natural results of a fond desire to see in the pagan mind a willing acquiescence in revealed truth, on the first propagation of it, in the metropolis of the world. "From the age of St. Jerome," says Lightfoot, "Seneca was commonly regarded as standing on the very threshold of the Christian Church, even if he had not actually passed within its portals. In one Ecclesiastical Council at least, held at Tours in the year 567, his authority is quoted with a deference generally accorded only to fathers of the Church. And even to the present day, in the marionette plays of his native Spain, St. Seneca takes his place by the side of St. Peter and St. Paul in the representations of our Lord's passion."* Jerome took note of this correspondence in the following language: "Quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum, nisi me illæ epistolæ provocarent quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecæ ad Paulum."† This, of course, decides nothing as to the authenticity of the letters; but the credulous spirit of the whole mediæval Church was only too ready to adopt this revered father's language as a strong indorsement of the correspondence. The internal character of the letters is thoroughly decisive of their spuriousness. The barrenness of thought, the impurity of the style, the errors in matters of fact, and especially the frequent violations of historical and chronological accuracy, prove them unworthy the place they have occupied in ecclesiastical literature. Of all writers, the French have manifested most confidence in the authenticity of the correspondence; and in cases where they have not gone to this extreme, they have discussed the question with an animation and wealth of research that have attracted the admiration of the learned world. The most complete treatise on the subject is that of Fleury. This author, while claiming that Paul and Seneca were on intimate relations, concedes the improbability of the correspondence, on the

* "Epistle to the Philippians," pp. 296, 297, 3d ed. † "Vir. Illust." 12.

ground of its being "a composition of very inferior grade, a sort of school-boy exercise, abundant in rhetorical excesses, couched in very poor language, now containing borrowed expressions from Tacitus, and now others from the existing version of Paul's epistles."* Fleury enriches his treatise by a description of the whole literature of this special subject,† and by his excellent bibliography of the manuscripts and editions containing the alleged correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.‡ The most recent French writer on this subject is Charles Aubertin, who enters into the full criticism of the contemporary philosophy, and concludes not only that the correspondence is without any claim to authenticity, but that Seneca's writings no more prove him to have been a Christian than do the works of Plato, Cicero, and other Greek and Roman philosophical and moral writers prove them to have been followers of Christ. Lightfoot points out the untenability of Seneca's parallelism with St. Paul on the ground of the former's frequent priority to Paul's writings, the existence of the same parallels in previous authors, the many fallacious coincidences, and the depth of the opposition of his tenets to those of Paul.§ However, Lightfoot thus concludes that there are many coincidences which cannot be explained on these grounds:—

> But after all allowance made for the considerations just urged, some facts remain which still require explanation. It appears that the Christian parallels in Seneca's writings become more frequent as he advances in life. It is not less true that they are much more striking and more numerous than in the other great Stoics of the Roman period, Epictetus and M. Aurelius; for though in character these later writers approached much nearer to the Christian ideal than the minister of Nero, though their fundamental doctrines are as little inconsistent with Christian theology and ethics as his, yet the closer resemblances of sentiment and expression, which alone would suggest any direct obligations to Christianity, are, I believe, decidedly more frequent in Seneca. Lastly: after all deductions made, a class of coincidences still remains, of which the expression "spend and be spent" may be taken as a type, and which can hardly be considered accidental. If any historical connection (direct or indirect) can be traced with a fair degree of probability, we may reasonably look to this for the solution of such coincidences. I shall content myself here

* "Saint Paul et Sénèque," vol. ii, pp. 281, 282.

† Vol. i, pp. 2–9. ‡ Vol. ii, pp. 283–297.

§ "Epistle to the Philippians," 3d edition, pp. 289–296. London. 1873.

with stating the different ways in which such a connection was possible or probable, without venturing to affirm what was actually the case, for the data are not sufficient to justify any definite theory.*

The weakest part of Lightfoot's criticism is his endeavor to show that these coincidences are due to the Semitic origin of Stoicism, and that Tarsus, especially, being a seat of Stoic philosophy, Paul became acquainted with that system, and used the religious vocabulary of the Stoics in his epistles, or "found in the ethical language of the Stoics expressions more fit than he could find elsewhere to describe in certain aspects the duties and privileges, the struggles and the triumphs, of the Christian life. Lightfoot really attributes the remarkable coincidences between Paul and Seneca to Paul's using Stoical terminology, a thing which cannot be admitted for a moment. Had there been no Stoa there could have been, just as easily, the great structure of the Pauline theology. Paul used the Greek language, with all its charm of imagery and subtle force, as the vehicle of his thoughts; but he placed no dependence, in the constructive part of his theology, on the poor resources of any system of pagan philosophy. It was Seneca, and not any other writer of his entire school, or of all paganism, who used, in the same sense as Paul, such words as flesh, angel, Holy Spirit, and offspring of God.

It is not at all improbable that Paul and Seneca were acquainted with each other. Paul long had in mind a visit to Rome, and regarded that metropolis as a point of departure for missionary labors in Spain, if not in the north, (Romans i, 13; xv, 23, 24,) and we cannot suppose him to have been without interest in the prevailing religious thought of the time and place. This would account for an independent interest in the best contemporary moral writer, Seneca, and would make their meeting no undesirable event on the apostle's part. Seneca, too, would be equally interested in the man who stood at the head of the new faith, and of whose writings he might well have had some knowledge. Once, when an important crisis had arrived in Paul's ministry, in Corinth, and when the issue of an important Jewish persecution of him had to be decided by the governor of Achaia, to whom appeal had been made, the

* "Epistle to the Philippians," pp. 300, 301.

result was favorable to Paul; for, after the Jews had made their charge, and Paul was about to open his mouth in his own defense, this governor or deputy, Gallio by name, regarded it unnecessary, and dismissed the charge in these words: "If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it: for I will be no judge of such matters." The result was, he drove them from the judgment-seat. Now who should this Gallio be but Seneca's own brother, M. Annæus Novatus, who took the name Junius Annæus Gallio on passing by adoption into another family. Farrar, not without good ground, says: "We can easily imagine that Gallio was Seneca's favorite brother, and we are not surprised to find that the philosopher dedicated to him his three books on 'Anger,' and his charming little treatise 'On a Happy Life!'"* Seldom has a brother paid to another such a tribute as Seneca thus pays to his brother Gallio: "I used to say to you that my brother Gallio (whom every one loves a little, even people who cannot love him much) was wholly ignorant of other vices, but even detested this. You might try him in any direction. You began to praise his intellect—an intellect of the highest and worthiest kind . . . and he walked away! You began to praise his moderation; he instantly cut short your first words. You began to express admiration for his blandness and natural suavity of manner . . . yet even here he resisted your compliments; and if you were led to exclaim that you had found a man who could not be overcome by those insidious attacks which every one else admits, and hoped that he would at least tolerate this compliment because of its truth, even on this ground he would resist your flattery; not as though you had been awkward, or as though he suspected that you were jesting with him, or had some secret end in view, but simply because he had a horror of every form of adulation."† Must we not suppose that the relations between two such brothers were very intimate?‡ And is there not excellent ground for the conjecture of Schœll, in his *Histoire de la Littérature*

* "Seekers after God," pp. 20, 21. † "Quæstiones Naturales," lib. iv.

‡ On the relations of Paul and Gallio, and the character of the latter, comp. Lewin, "Life and Epistles of St. Paul." Second edition. Vol. i, pp. 291, 292.

Romaine: "In all probability the pro-prætor, in his correspondence with his brother, had mentioned this Jewish teacher, who had preached the Gospel for eighteen months in the capital of his province!" It must also be borne in mind that the most striking parallels between Seneca and St. Paul occur in the later works of Seneca, such as his *De Vita Beata* and *De Beneficiis*, both of which were composed after A. D. 61—the year when Paul arrived in Rome—and, above all, in his epistles, written near the close of his life.* When Paul arrived in Rome he was placed in charge of the prefect of the Prætorian Guards, who allowed him to dwell in a private house with a soldier, who kept him in sight, and gave him liberty to see his friends. Now this prefect was none other than Burrhus, whom we have already mentioned as an intimate friend of Seneca, and associate of the latter at Nero's court. "Is it not natural," M. Schœll well asks, "to suppose that their conversation would have turned upon this bold and eloquent Jewish teacher, who, on account of new religious opinions, had been persecuted in Palestine, and had appealed to the tribunal of the emperor? Would not Seneca have been curious to see and hear this extraordinary man?" We do not regard it necessary to suppose that any special intimacy existed between the Christian Paul and the Stoic Seneca, in order to account for parallelism in their writings. The tradition, deep-rooted, and often repeated through many centuries, is at least very significant. Or, as De Maistre says: "The tradition concerning the Christianity of Seneca, and on his relations with St. Paul, without being finally decisive, is nevertheless far more than nothing, if one connect with it certain other presumptions."† Seneca's mental altitude and achievements prove him to have been ready for at least a guarded interchange of opinions with Paul, and it may well have happened that the influence of the philosopher at Nero's Court had weight in securing such delay of the Apostle's trial as resulted later in the latter's liberation, and in his making one more missionary tour.

* Fr. Ch. Gelpe, Tractatiuncula de familiaritate quæ Paulo apostolo cum Seneca philosopho intercessisse traditur, verisimillima. Lips., 1813. 4to. Quoted in "New Brunswick Review," Feb., 1855.

† "Soirées de Saint Petersbourg, IX^e^ Entretien."

Art. II.—THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.*

The departure of the Israelites out of Egypt was their *independence day*, and the date of the nation's birth. As such it is always referred to, in Scripture, in terms of lofty jubilee and devout acknowledgment of the power of Jehovah, which was so strikingly displayed at almost every step. Two hundred and sixteen years before this event their patriarch, Jacob, had left the land of his childhood and old age, and emigrated with all his family to Egypt, then the most highly cultivated land on earth. Settled in the most fertile part of the country, they had grown to a population of some two millions of souls. Divine Providence had specially fostered them. But now, for about eighty years, the Egyptian government, under a new and jealous dynasty, had adopted a severe policy toward them, and they were gradually reduced to a condition of servitude. Nevertheless, Jehovah had not forsaken them. Moses had been in process of training all these later years as an instrument for their deliverance, and the time had at length arrived for their emancipation. We need not here review the mighty acts of divine interference by which the Egyptian court were finally compelled to grant the release of the Hebrews. We will come at once to the scenes of their exit from the country. The region where it occurred is not only memorable from the inspired narrative of that event, but is likewise remarkable for its natural features, and interesting on account of the modern associations of the vicinity.

Goshen, the territory occupied by the Israelites in Egypt, was an extension eastward of the "Delta," or triangular alluvial plain around the mouths of the Nile. It seems to have corresponded substantially to the present valley of *Tumeilat*, which is a fertile, tongue-shaped tract about eighteen miles

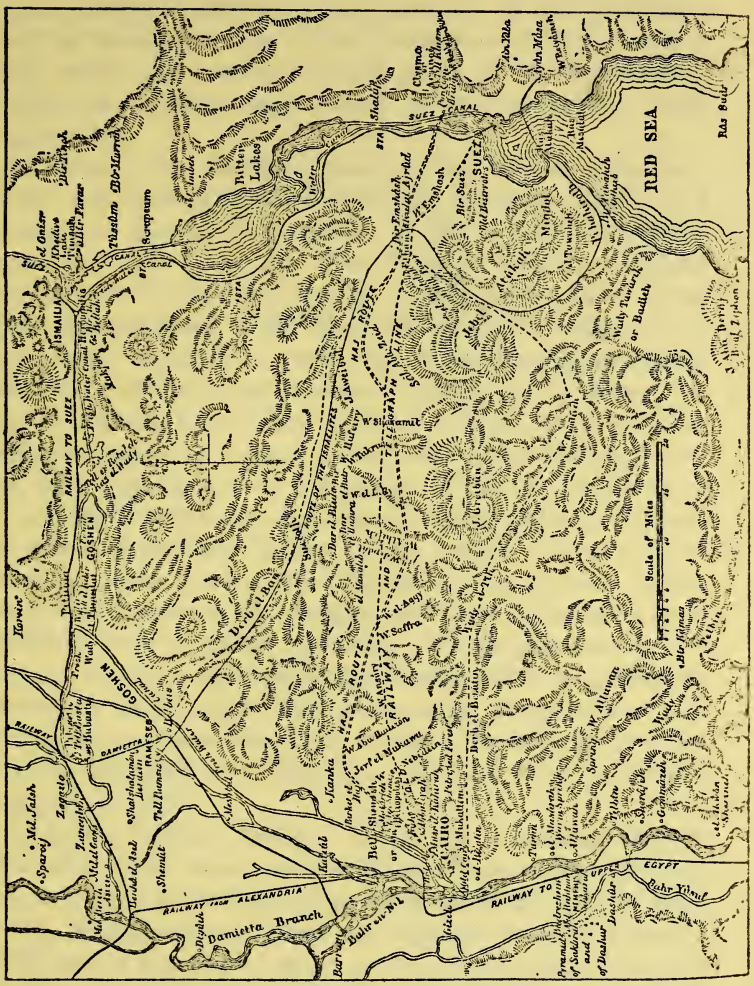
* It is proper to state that the writer of the present article had prepared a paper for the "Quarterly" on this subject before he was aware that Dr. Vail had written on the same theme. On learning the latter fact he withdrew his paper, presuming that it would be superseded by Dr. Vail's. The editor, however, stipulated that he should return it for publication if that should prove not to be the case. Finding the editor, on his return from Florida, to be still of the same mind, he has again submitted it, with such modifications as a longer time for consideration has suggested.

long, and averaging about two and a half miles broad, extending along the present railway, which branches off to Ismailia from the direct line between Alexandria and Cairo. Westward Goshen probably included likewise a considerable tract of the adjoining Delta. The ruins scattered along the continuation of the valley, still farther east, are thought to indicate a populous region there likewise, and hence the name of Goshen is usually extended considerably farther in that direction; but the neglect of irrigation has allowed the sands of the desert on either side to encroach upon this narrow tract, so that it is now almost uninhabitable. The portion named above, however, is still so rich that it was sold in 1863 for $2,000,000, and is now worth much more.

The government works, upon which the Israelites were compelled to serve, were public edifices in the two cities, Pithom, and Raamses or Rameses, doubtless situated in or near the land of Goshen. The first of these places is generally identified with the present *Tel el Kebir*, a village in the center of the valley of Tumeilat, with remains of antiquity in its vicinity. The other is probably represented by *Tel Ramsis*, a quadrangular mound on an arm of the Nile opposite the modern village of Belbeis, located on the Damietta branch of the railway, about seventeen miles south-west of the former place. The canal, which conveys the sweet water of the Nile from Cairo to Suez, passes through both these villages, parallel with the railway, by way of Ismailia, pursuing very nearly the same line as the ancient one constructed for the same purpose, but choked up and obliterated for many centuries. By this route small craft during the Roman period and the Middle Ages used to furnish a communication with the market at Memphis for the citizens of Klysma, which was situated in the immediate vicinity of Suez, as traces of the name still attest. The Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869 for navigation between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, has made this neighborhood public to thousands of persons traveling across the Isthmus to India and China, as large steamers sail directly through it from European ports to these distant lands. Those who wish to see more of Egypt can disembark at Alexandria, take the cars for Cairo, and thence back by way of Ismailia, intercepting their vessel again at Suez. Thus most of the spots rendered memorable

by the exodus of the Israelites have been rapidly seen, at least from a distance, by multitudes of passengers on their way to and from the more distant east. The abrupt contact of modern improvements with these ancient scenes is calculated, perhaps, to dissipate some of the romantic haze which the imagination of Bible readers usually throws around them, but deepens rather than lessens their interest by the familiarity of approach.

After these preliminaries, we are prepared to follow the Hebrews in their exit from the land of their bondage. On the eve of the passover, corresponding to our Easter, they had rendezvoused by divine appointment at Rameses. Memphis, the capital, was forty miles distant, and hence Moses' final interview with Pharaoh, when the Israelitish leader uttered the ominous words, "Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more," must have taken place at some nearer point. The sacred meal was eaten in haste, the destroying angel at midnight smote all the first-born, and by the morning light the Israelitish host were on their march. As it is expressly stated that "God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, . . . but by the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea," we are sure that they took the direct south-easterly route toward the head of the Gulf of Suez, doubtless corresponding substantially with the modern pilgrim road. This way would lead them out of the fertile valley of Goshen, across a rolling, gravelly plain between low hills of shifting sand the whole distance. There was no obstruction to their journey, and they would make rapid progress. They had but little household stuff, for Orientals, especially those of nomadic habits, such as the Israelites inherited from their tent-dwelling forefathers, are not apt to encumber themselves much with furniture. Rain water would be abundant in the pits and rocks along their path at that time of the year, and they carried with them provision enough to last several days. Their first day was a long one, and they, no doubt, were anxious to fall as soon as possible into the main Haj road. Their first camp is called Succoth, or "booths," (Exod. xii, 37; xiii, 20; Num. xxxiii, 56,) probably a rough khan, like those established in all ages along this thoroughfare. The present Derb-el-Bân, a northern branch of the great pilgrim route, leads direct from



Belbeis, south-west down the valley by way of Rubeihy and Aweibet, and falls into the main Haj road at the Castle of Ajrûd, sixty miles from Belbeis. Ajrûd has been thought by many to correspond to the next station of the Israelites, "Etham, in the edge of the wilderness." (Exod. xiii, 20; Num. xxxiii, 6.) It is a long-established Egyptian outpost on the frontier of the desert. The whole air of the sacred narrative gives us the impression that this was a great landmark for travelers, and that it formed the first or immediate point of des-

tination for the Hebrews on their journey. If this be Etham, it will be necessary to allow thirty miles for each day's journey, which, under the pressing circumstances, is not extravagant, although an ordinary day's march in caravan is only about twenty miles.

At Etham the Israelites received this divine command: "Turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdôl and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea." (Exod. xiv, 2.) This direction must be carefully examined, as it is the only precise description we have of the actual crossing-place of the Red Sea by the Israelites. It is substantially repeated in verse nine, where the Egyptians are said to have overtaken the Hebrews "encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon." Of the names of these localities no trace at present exists; their identification, therefore, must depend upon a comparison of the circumstances of the narrative, with some slight corroboration from the etymology and historical application of the names. Three or four places have been selected by different writers as rivals for the honor of this remarkable crossing, and their claims have been somewhat hotly contested at times. We propose calmly and carefully to discuss their respective merits, and to be guided by the explicit terms of the biblical account, irrespective of any theological considerations as to whether the miracle involved may thus be enhanced or lessened. We take them up in their geographical order.

1. *At the "Bitter Lakes."* These are a series of shallow ponds of brackish water, some of them of very considerable extent, stretching at intervals from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Mediterranean. They are supposed to have formerly constituted a continuous water connection between those two great seas, which has since been broken by a change of level, leaving these isolated basins partly salt from the remnant of sea-water. A few geological evidences in support of this theory have been adduced, the most palpable of which is the fact that sea-shells, of the same character with those now thrown up by the Red Sea, may be seen along the shore of these lakes. See Dr. Harmon's late book of travels in that region.) This would seem to indicate a continuity of these bodies of water in earlier times. (See further in Laborde,

Commentarie Géographique sur l'Exode. Paris, 1841. Fol., p. 79, *a.*)*

A rise of the intermediate land has been inferred from the stoppage of the ancient canal along this line; but this can readily be accounted for by the drifting in of sand, and the neglect of the banks. On the other hand, that no material change of level has taken place in this region in modern times, seems to be proved by the fact that the fresh-water canal now actually conveys water from the Nile to Suez, just as it formerly did, without any considerable cutting for that purpose. The brackishness of these lakes merely argues a connection at some period with the Mediterranean, and not necessarily with the Red Sea likewise, and the shells and other marine indications are probably traces of this connection only. In fact the immense lagoon of Lake Menzaleh still reaches almost to Lake Timsah, the principal or deepest of the Bitter Lakes, and there is nothing but flats and marshes in this direction; whereas southerly the Suez Canal required extensive excavations for its continuance to the Gulf of Suez, cutting in some cases, not through sand and silted *débris* merely, but through firm strata of clay and crystalline alabaster.

This theory rests upon so problematical a foundation that it

* The great bed of the Bitter Lakes extends in a northerly and southerly direction, and is separated from the Red Sea by a sand bank 4,000 to 5,000 meters long, which is seldom more than one meter higher than the latter. It is forty to fifty lower than the water level of the sea basin, and from plain indications was once covered with the sea. (Du Bois Aimée, in the *Descr. de l'Eg. Mod.*, i, p. 188 sq., 1st ed.) Before it had a connection with the Nile by means of the well-known canal, and thus received fresh water, its waters were bitter, (Strabo, xvii, p. 804.) There can hardly be a doubt that it was originally embraced in the Heroöpolitan Gulf. (Stickel, in the *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1850, p. 328 sq.) But this is no proof that the ancient Heroöpolis was situated in the inner corner of the Arabian Sea. (Strabo, xvi, p. 767; xvii, p. 836; Pliny, vi. 33,) and that vessels sailed thence. (Strabo, xvi, p. 768;) but more probably this city was located far north of Klysma, namely, Kolsum, near the present Suez, (Ptolemy, iv, 5, 14 and 54; *Itinerar Anton.* p. 107, ed. Wess.,) namely, somewhere about the modern Abu-Keished, or Mukfar. (Knobel, *Commentar zu Exodus*, p. 140 sq.) Its ruins are still visible there. (Champollion, *Egypte*, ii. 88.) Its importance gave name to the entire adjacent nome, and to the contiguous gulf. Both were likewise more properly designated from Arsinoë, which was situated near the present head of the bay. (See *Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s. v., Arsinoë.) This latter seems to have been the official designation of the place which was popularly termed Clysma, (namely, *the beach*, τὸ κλύσμα, Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 472, 556.)

has not been much resorted to in this discussion except for the purpose of strengthening the location of the Israelites' crossing at Suez, by way of showing that the water at the latter point was deeper anciently than now, and so preserving the greater appearance of a miracle in the case. It is thus incidentally alluded to by Calmet and Robinson, and by several later writers. But for this purpose, if it proves any thing, it proves too much; for if at the time of the Exodus the Red Sea extended thus far north, there is no occasion to seek for any other place of crossing, so far as a sufficiency of water is concerned.

Aside from these geological and theological speculations, there is in favor of this crossing-place only the shorter distance from Belbeis, rendering it an easy three days' journey of only fifteen miles per day to any point that might be selected in the vicinity of Ismailia. The attempt of Fürst ("Hebrew Lexicon," p. 766) to identify Baal-zephon with Heroöpolis, is mere conjecture; and his remark that Migdôl is the Magdolum of Herodotus (ii, 159) is founded on a mistake, (repeated in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," ii, 246;) for Megiddo, in Palestine, is doubtless there intended. (See Rawlinson's "Herod.," ii, p. 207.) The Magdolum of Egypt was twelve miles west of Pelusium, ("Antonine Itinerary," p. 14,) entirely too remote for the precise indication of locality in the Mosaic narrative.

Against the location of the miracle at the Bitter Lakes are the following facts in the biblical text: 1.) In order to go round the head of the sea (if thus far north) the Israelites would be obliged to start, not by "the way of the wilderness," as the text states, but precisely by that direct "way of the land of the Philistines" which the text expressly says they did not take. (Exod. xiii, 17, 18.) 2.) There would be no change of their course requisite or possible in order to reach this point, as the word "turn" (Exod. xiv, 2,) demands; they were already going on the direct and only route they could well have taken. Indeed, if the region of Lake Timsah were then so low as to be filled from the Red Sea, it is difficult to see how the water from the Mediterranean on the other side could have been kept out, and then there would be a continuous lake from sea to sea, and a miracle would have been necessary at all hazards in order to the passage anywhere. The Hebrews had no occasion to "turn" at

all, for that matter. 3.) In that case Pharaoh's observation, (Exod. xiv, 3, 4,) "The children of Israel are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in," would have been very inapt; at least its force is not at all clear; for, go which way they might, the material obstacle would be the same, namely, the water merely. 4.) There is no local or historical tradition confirmatory of this spot. In short, circumstances on this theory are all so uncertain and ill-defined, that we may safely dismiss it as altogether hypothetical. If we are to determine any thing definite concerning the place of the transaction, it must be based upon the known relations of the localities as they now exist.

2. *At Suez.* This location of the event in question has a far greater array of names in its support, among the most notable of whom is Dr. E. Robinson, (in the "Biblical Repository," 1832, p. 753 sq., repeated in his "Biblical Researches," i, 80,) who followed in the wake of Niebuhr, ("Travels in Arabia," translated by Heron, Edinburgh, 1792, i, pp. 198, 451,) and whose views have been substantially reproduced—with one or two additional items—by the latest writer, Dr. Vail, in this "Review." Other important authorities on the same side are Laborde (*Commentarie Géographique*, p. 77; who cites, as having adopted it with some modification, the earlier writers, Le Clerc, G. Bajer, DuBois Aimée, Salvator, etc.) and the author of Murray's "Hand-book for Egypt," (Ed., 1873, p. 279;) Keil, "Commentary on the Pentateuch," (Clarke's translation, Edinburgh, 1866, 3 vols., 8vo.,) ii, 46 sq. The obvious purport of the arguments adduced in favor of this as the place of the Israelites' passage is, notwithstanding the disclaimer of most of its advocates, to reduce the miracle to its minimum terms, and to find a spot where it is practicable by merely natural forces. This has created a prejudice against it in the minds of most readers, and induced a controversy not always temporate or logical. Let us look at the arguments on both sides from scriptural sources purely.

In favor of this view we may say that, 1.) the distance from Belbeis (assuming that to correspond substantially with the site of Rameses) sufficiently agrees with the requirements of a three days' march, being about fifty miles in a straight line. 2.) The general direction is about the required one for the Israelites at

the outset. 3.) The adjoining localities are thought to correspond with those of the Scripture account. Thus, it is generally agreed that Migdôl (the tower) answers to some fortress on Jebel Atâkah. 4.) There are shoals reaching nearly or quite across the channel at this point, so that an east wind might readily lay it bare; and it is, moreover, so narrow that the Israelites could easily cross in the few hours presumed to have been occupied in the passage.

Other features of this locality do not well tally with the requirements of the case, and some appear absolutely to contradict the biblical statements. Even the above coincidences, especially the last, when more closely examined, do not prove satisfactory. 1.) The direction to "turn" from the regular course hitherto pursued by the fugitives does not admit of an adequate explanation on this view. The word is an emphatic one, not the ordinary סוּר, or נָטָה, *to turn aside or away;* but שׁוּב, to *return*, *turn back*, namely, actually retrograde.* At least a marked digression or detour is required to meet the significance of this term. But Suez is directly on the beaten track of all ages, and precisely in the line which the Israelites had already been pursuing. It is true, the immemorial Haj route does not actually come down to the village of Suez itself, as, of course, it does not cross the head of the gulf there; it passes a mile or two above, so as to avoid the water. But this small divergence would be quite inconsiderable in the direction of a whole day's march; for the order to "turn," be it observed, was given at Etham before setting out the third day, not near its close, or in the vicinity of the sea, where the difference in direction might have been more perceptible. This last consideration is, therefore, altogether too insignificant to justify the Hebrew term. 2.) None of the places given in the biblical account as fixing the spot, determine it at Suez. Even Jebel Atâkah, if Migdôl, is too far away to be naturally selected for such a minute specification of the immediate scene. Any point from Ras Atâkah to the south end of the Bitter Lakes would be "east" of (or "before") that mountain in this general sense. As for

* Ewald, who treats the record in his usually arbitrary and irreverent manner, is yet too good a scholar not to feel the force of this expression, which he construes by saying that Moses "led the host half-way back." ("History of Israel," translated by Martineau. London, 1869, 5 vols., 8vo., ii, 69.)

Pi-hahiroth, (whether Hebrew for *Mouth of the Ravines*, or, as is more likely, Coptic for *The Sedge-Plat*,) it finds no special adaptation to any place in that neighborhood. The attempt to identify it with Ajrûd fails utterly, for the Hebrew and Arabic names have but one radical letter in common. Equally unsatisfactory is every effort to discover Baal-zephon in any prominent landmark north of Jebel Atâkah.* There is in that direction nothing but a flat, monotonous tract of sand, with no striking name or object to fix upon. 3.) At Suez the Israelites, so far from being hemmed in by barriers on either side, and an impassable sea in front, as the biblical situation evidently was, had nothing to do, if they wished to escape, but to act just as every caravan at Suez now does, simply keep on across the open plain around the head of the bay—an easy, open, and direct passage of some three or four miles at farthest. At Suez it was impossible for them to be either "entangled in the land," or "shut in by the wilderness." The way was clear, so far as natural obstacles or intricacy was concerned, and no troop of six hundred cavalry even could effectually cut them off from it; certainly no enemy in the rear could hinder them. 4.) "A strong east wind blowing all night" across the head of the gulf (Exod. xiv, 21) would leave by morning no "wall of waters" either "on the right hand or on the left" of passengers at Suez. As will be seen by inspecting the soundings on the accompanying sketch from the British Sailing Chart, the channel opposite Suez is (except, of course, the artificial bed of the Suez Canal) nowhere over four feet deep at low-water, and not more than *one twelfth of a mile wide*. It could be waded across without any miracle or extra wind at all. In fact this has actually been done; one traveler hired a man to walk through the water at ebb-tide at Suez, which he effected, holding his hands over his head. (Madden, "Travels," ii, 143, 150.) So all the way down to the bar at the mouth of the creek which puts up into Suez the water is at the most only five or six feet deep, (in a single spot,) and generally three or four at ordinary low tide, with a tolerably uniform width of about one tenth of a mile. But a powerful and prolonged east wind, acting upon the mass of water in the outer or broad part of the bay itself, would so greatly

*Some writers refer Migdôl to *Muktâla*, but this seems to be an error for the pass *Mantâlah*, and, therefore, fails of verbal correspondence.

lower the tide on the eastern shore, where the channel of Suez lies, as to drain the latter almost, if not absolutely, dry throughout its whole extent.* It is true, there would be water enough

* "Whether the wind blew directly from the east, or somewhat from the south-east or north-east, cannot be determined. In any case the division of the water in both directions could only have been effected by an east wind; and although even

left in the bay itself to prevent an enemy from surrounding the passing host on that side, but on the north there would be no such protection. Thus, even on the supposition that the term "wall" is used in verse 22 in the sense of *defense*, the explanation clearly fails to meet the language of the text: "The waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left." We desire to insist on this fact, and to us it appears decisive of the whole issue. But the phraseology seems to us to be stronger even than this interpretation. The term "wall" (חוֹמָה) is rarely if ever used in this metaphorical sense of *protection*, but invariably (1 Sam. xxv, 16, is, we believe, the only doubtful instance) signifies some *physical barrier*, whether of stone or other material, placed more or less vertically for the purpose of protection. Its meaning is by no means fulfilled in the supposition of a vague water-line, shelving away at a distance on one side. Surely nothing but a desire to minify the preternatural element in the discussion could lead to the adoption of so inadequate an interpretation; for the language, it must be remembered, occurs not in a poetical or figurative connection, but in a plain, prosaic history.* The poetical version

now the ebb is strengthened by a north-east wind, as Tischendorf says, and the flood is driven so much to the south by a north-west wind that the gulf can be ridden through, and even forded on foot, to the north of Suez, (Schubert, 'Reise,' ii, 269.) and as a rule the rise and fall of the water in the Arabian Gulf is nowhere so dependent upon the wind as it is at Suez, (Wellsted, 'Arabia,' ii, 41, 42,) yet the drying up of the sea as here described cannot be accounted for by an ebb strengthened by the wind, because the water is all driven southward in the ebb, and not sent in opposite directions. Such a division could only be produced by a wind sent by God, and working with omnipotent force, in connection with which the natural phenomenon of the ebb may, no doubt, have exerted a subordinate influence. The passage was effected in the night, through the whole of which the wind was blowing, and in the morning watch (between three and six o'clock, verse 24) it was finished." (Keil, "Commentary," *ad loc.*)

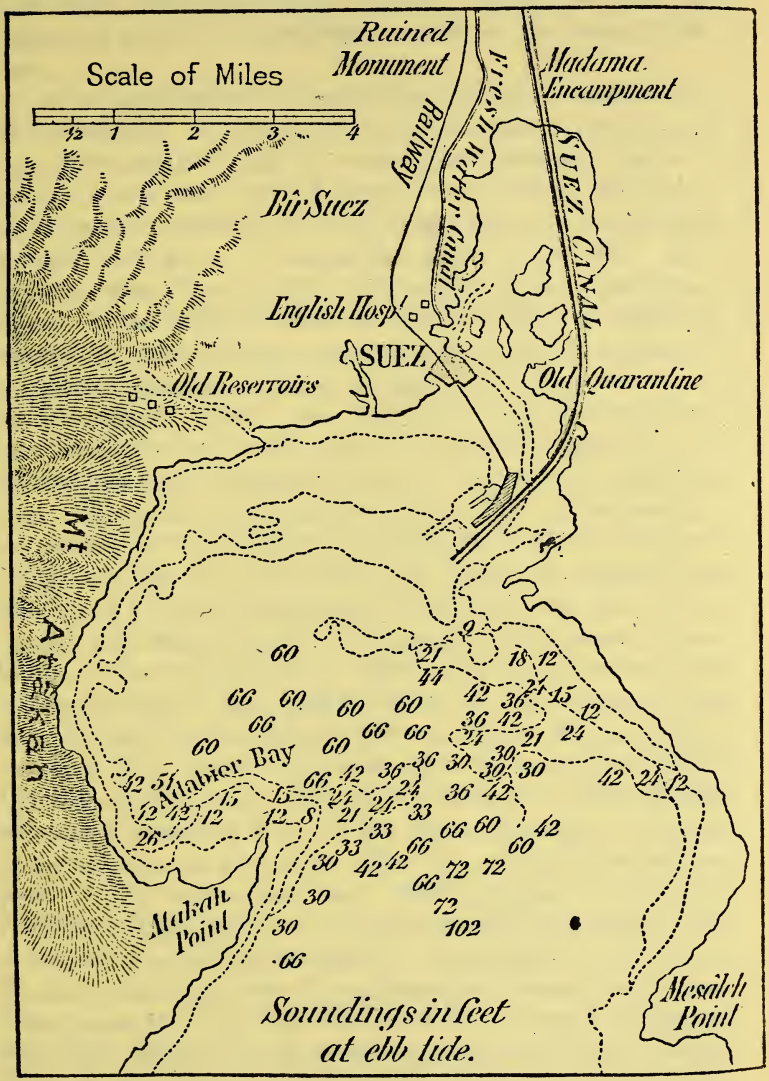
* In addition to these difficulties in the way of the crossing at Suez, we call Dr. Vail's attention to the following inaccuracies or inadvertences in the paper referred to: (1.) The distance from Etham to Suez on his map is forty miles, which is double his own maximum estimate of a single day's journey. (2.) His route of the Israelites on setting out from Rameses is north-east, the precise direction of Philistia, which the sacred narrative expressly states was avoided. (3.) His position of Pi-hahiroth east of the head of the gulf, and of Baal-zephon at Suez, is in both cases inconsistent with the statement that the Israelites encamped east (לִפְנֵי) of these localities. (4.) The rendering of רלך in verse 21 by "flow back" is not justified by the signification of that verb, which is identical with our "walk," and contains neither the idea of *flowing* nor that of *backward*. (5.) His expedi-

of the transaction (Exod. xv, 8) uses much stronger language: "The floods *stood upright as a heap*, and the depths were congealed in the *heart* of the sea." The phraseology here, although figurative, no doubt correctly represents the *facts* as seen by an eye-witness. Psalm lxxviii, 13: "He made the waters to *stand as a heap*," shows the same traditional interpretation, and Heb. x, 2, confirms it, "Baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," that is, wet with the spray.

For these reasons, even if we could find no better crossing-place for the Israelites, we should be disposed to reject the one at Suez as not fairly meeting the scriptural requirements in the case.

3. *At Ras Atâkah.* This place has been preferred as that of the crossing by the great majority of writers and travelers, including Pococke, Joly, Monconys, Shaw, Ovington, Sicard, Bruce, Arundale, Raumer, Kitto, Olin, Wilson, Durbin, Bartlett, Porter, Bonar, Murphy, etc. It seems to us to meet the demands of the biblical account more perfectly than any other. This cape is situated about six miles, in a direct line, south of Suez, opposite the southern end of Jebel Atâkah. It is a tongue running out more than a mile into the water beyond the average shore line, and continued nearly a mile farther by a shoal, over which the water at ordinary low tide is not more than fourteen feet deep. Beyond this again stretches, for nearly a mile and a half in the same direction, a lower shoal, covered nowhere by more than twenty-nine feet of water at low tide. Opposite this point there reaches out, for about two miles from the eastern shore, a similar shoal, only thirty feet under water at its deepest place. The entire width of the sea at this point is about five miles, while the space where it is not over fifteen feet deep is but three and a half miles, and the channel, itself not over fifty feet deep, is less than three quarters of a mile wide. The sea immediately above and below this spot, in the channel, is about seventy feet deep. Here,

[illegible] of making the Israelites cross the channel at Suez *obliquely* is a mere ma[illegible]ver in order to gain a sufficient width for deploying the line of the host. If the channel was drained, as it would be in many places at least, if these flats were bare, they might cross almost anywhere, and would certainly take "the shortest cut" square across.



then, is a place where a strong and continued east wind, of the preternatural character implied in the sacred narrative, might open a passage suitable for the occasion, and leave a mass of water fitly comparable to a "wall on either hand." Moreover, the Israelites would in that case emerge on the shore near

Ayun Mûsa, (Wells of Moses,) the very name of which, in addition to other local traditions, represents the scene of the event.

A close examination of the text itself confirms this view of the transaction. It says, (verse 21,) "Jehovah caused the sea to go (וַיּוֹלֶךְ, *made it walk*) by a strong east wind all night . . . and the waters were divided, (וַיִּבָּקְעוּ, *were split.*") Similar is the language in verse 16, "Divide it (the sea) and the children of Israel shall go . . . through the *midst* of the sea." The statement that the wind blew "all night," gives no just countenance to the inference that the Israelites did not begin the passage till near morning, and therefore could have gone but a very short distance in all, or, at least, when the wind lulled and the miracle ceased. For aught that appears, they may have already walked many miles, or even have continued their march some time the next forenoon, if necessary in order to cross. True, the text says, (verse 27:) "The sea returned at the turning of the morning (לִפְנוֹת בֹּקֶר, *at daybreak*, compare Judges xix, 25, 26) to its usual bed, (לְאֵיתָנוֹ, *to its perennial flow*,") but it does not necessarily follow from this that the Israelitish host had at that time all reached the opposite shore. Indeed, rather the contrary is intimated by the statement, *given subsequently* to this, that "the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea," (verse 29,) as if they continued their march some time after the overthrow of the Egyptians in their rear. Nor is it certain from verse 20 that both camps remained quiet all the night, although such might be the inference at first sight. The true state of the case appears to have been about thus: The Egyptians overtook the Israelites at night-fall, just as they were about to encamp (חֹנִים, in the act of *pitching their tents*, or preparing to do so) near the shore of the sea, (verse 9,) and marched down directly upon them, (verse 10.) In their dismay at the prospect of instant destruction, Moses ordered them to press forward immediately, (verse 15, וְיִסָּעוּ, *and they shall pull up stakes*, that is, break up their preparations for camp.) While they were doing this the wind sprung up, which did not lull till daylight. As they were marching to the beach the guardian pillar took its position in their rear, (verse 19,) and so followed them all night as a light to their steps, (verse 20.) When they had reached the

middle of the sea, (verse 21,) and the Egyptians were not far behind them, (verse 22,) the morning began to dawn, (verse 24,) and to prevent the enemy from overtaking the fugitives the march of the Egyptians was miraculously retarded, so that they in their panic were about to retreat, (verse 25.) This they would hardly have thought of doing had they been nearly across, or had it been but a little way to the opposite shore: indeed, every reference to their destruction shows that they were yet in the middle of the sea. So, too, was Moses apparently at this juncture, when at his extended rod the water behind the host—who had gained somewhat by the delay of the enemy—began to fall, and the Egyptians actually turned to flee, but were overtaken in the heart of the sea, (verse 27,) while the Israelites continued their march through the channel, still open in front of them, (verse 29,) till they reached the shore, which the following waves soon strewed with the corses of the foe, (verse 30.) From this recital of incidents in the exact order of the text, it appears that the march really lasted some part of the night, and we consequently require a considerable width of water for its occurrence.*

Ras Atâkah, too, seems to correspond to the geographical features of the case. The point where the Israelites struck the western coast-line of the Red Sea is (as we have seen above) is explicitly defined in three passages of the sacred itinerary, which we translate literally: "Speak to the sons of Israel, and they shall return (וְיָשֻׁבוּ) and encamp before (לִפְנֵי) Pi-ha-Chirôth,

* "If God sent the wind, which divided the water and laid the bottom dry, as soon as night set in, the crossing might have begun at nine o'clock in the evening, if not before, and lasted till four or five o'clock in the morning, (see verse 27.) By this extension of the time, we gain enough for the flocks, which Robinson has left out of his calculations. The Egyptians naturally followed close upon the Israelites, from whom they were divided only by the pillar of cloud and fire, and when the Israelites had reached the opposite shore they were in the midst of the sea. So in the morning watch Jehovah cast a look upon them in the pillar of cloud and fire, and threw their army into confusion, (verse 24.") (Keil, "Commentary," *ad loc.*) "The Israelites would form a column a quarter of a mile in rank and a mile in file. Such a body might cross a channel of six miles in six hours, and, therefore, notwithstanding the roughness of the sea bottom, might easily decamp, set out, and reach the opposite bank in eight. By the time they had reached the shore, their pursuers, with their chariots of war, would be in the middle of the channel, where the depression of the bottom and the difficulty of progress were the greatest." (Murphy, "Commentary," *ad loc.*)

between Migdôl and the sea; before (לְפָנֵי) Bá'al-Tsephôn, opposite it (נֹכַח) shall ye encamp upon (עַל) the sea." (Exod. xiv, 2.) "And they [the Egyptians] overtook (וַיַּשִּׂיגוּ) them [the Israelites] encamping upon the sea; upon (עַל) Pi-ha-Chirôth, which is before Bá'al-Tsephôn." (Ver. 9.) "And they [the Israelites] removed from Etham, and he [Israel] returned (וַיָּשָׁב) upon (עַל) Pi-ha-Chirôth, which is before Bá'al Tsephôn; and they encamped before Migdôl." (Num. xxxiii, 7.) The meaning of Pi hahiroth, if it be Hebrew, can only be *Mouth of the Gorges*, (root, חוּר, *to bore;*) or if Egyptian (as Gesenius and Fürst prefer) it is doubtless *Sedgy Spot*, (Coptic, *pi-achi-roth*, "the place of meadows," according to Jablonski.) In either etymology it would most properly designate a grassy shore, as at the opening of a valley with a brook into the sea. Such a spot is found in the reedy plain (sometimes called *Badeah*) at the mouth of a wide valley just south of Jebel Atâkah. Our Egyptian dragoman, who was thoroughly familiar with these localities, called it Wady *Ghubbeh* ("cane-valley;") Robinson calls it Wady *Tawârik*, others Wady *Mûsa*, and still other names are assigned to it. Baal-zephon is doubtless a Hebrew rendering of the name of a place "sacred to Typhon," the Greek form of the Egyptian malignant deity, of whose haunt in this vicinity there are traces in ancient writers. (See the Hebrew Lexicographers.) In that case it was probably a mountain, or at least an eminence, in accordance with the heathen preference for hills as sites of shrines. Migdol is the common Hebrew word for a *tower*, and was, therefore, most likely also a commanding position. It occurs, however, as the name of a town in this quarter of Egypt, (Jer. xliv, 1; xlvi, 14,) and may be nothing more than a Hebraized form of the Coptic *megtol*, "many hills." (See the authorities in Gesenius.) In Ezekiel xxix, 10; xxx, 6, it recurs in the phrase מִגְדּוֹל סְוֵנֵה, which may most naturally be rendered *from Migdôl of Seveneh;* in the English Bible, "from the tower of Syene," after the Vulgate, *a turre Syene;* but the rendering of the Septuagint ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου ἕως [once καὶ] Συήνης, suggests that the latter name should be pointed סְוֵנָה, *to Sevên*, thus marking out the natural limits of Egypt, from Migdôl on the north to Assuan on the south, precisely as to-day; and this conclusion is generally adopted by modern scholars. Fürst in his "Hebrew Lexicon," gives a curi-

ous interpretation of this whole geographical question: "From Migdôl a road led to Baal-zephon, the later Heroöpolis, on the Red Sea, and, therefore, the Red Sea is mentioned with it. Exod. xiv, 2; Num. xxxiii, 7." Most readers, however, will prefer to see in these texts, so carefully worded in almost exact agreement with each other, a precise indication of the very spot where the Israelites crossed; and if the above reasons be correct, we ought to find on each side of the crossing-place a conspicuous landmark, probably a mountain. This we exactly have at the valley in question, with Jebel Atâkah ("hill of liberty," so our dragoman translated it) on the north, and Jebel Abu-Daraj ("hill of the father of steps," that is, *long march*) on the south, and a fine well-watered plain between, suitable for an encampment. In this position the Israelites would be effectually hemmed in by the sea in front, the mountains on either hand, and the Egyptians in their rear. The enemy, of course, came directly down from Memphis along Wady et-Tih, ("the Valley of Wandering,") which terminates in the wady in question, thus intercepting the Israelites, who could not escape along the narrow rocky margin of the shore around the point called Ras Atâkah. Our company tried to travel that rough coast and found it impracticable enough. Small companies, as was the case with Dr. Durbin, may indeed pass slowly along it, but not so great and encumbered a multitude as the Israelites. Besides, it is about a day's march by this route from Ras Atâkah to Suez, and the Egyptians might readily have intercepted the fugitives by sending a detachment around the other side of the mountain.

The particular path by which the Israelites reached Ras Atâkah from Ajrûd has not been agreed upon by the advocates of this point of crossing. Sicard thought they came down Wady et-Tîh from Memphis; but this, as we have seen, is not at all likely. Most others suppose that they came first to Suez, and then along the shore. But if they came that way, why might they not escape by the same? As we have just seen, they could do neither. There remains, therefore, the supposition that they passed around partly behind and across Jebel Atâkah. This exactly tallies with the command to "turn back from Etham. From Ajrûd the route would thus be not merely a deflection, but in part an actual retrogression, as the

accompanying map shows. A path is laid down on several of the maps of this region between the highest and westernmost summits of Jebel Atâkah, which the fugitives would most naturally take. By this route the distance for the third day's march from Ajrûd to the spring on the shore at the mouth of Wady Tuwârik would be a little less than thirty miles, the average allowed above for each of the previous days' travel. Thence to the extremity of Ras Atâkah is not quite ten miles, and thence to Ayun Mûsa is scarcely seven miles more. The journey does not seem to us to be an impracticable one under the urgency of the circumstances. It might be materially shortened for each of the succeeding days, especially the last, by locating Etham on the Haj route, somewhat to the west of Ajrûd; a supposition not at all forbidden by any known fact.*

4. Captain Moresby (in Aiton's "Land of the Messiah," p. 118 sq.) is of the opinion that the Israelites crossed at Ras Ta-

* Kurtz ("History of the Old Covenant," Clarke's translation, Edinb., 1859, 4 vols. 8vo.) has an extended observation (i, p. 357 sq.) on the time that elapsed upon the route from Rameses to the Red Sea, which he argues must have been more than the three days that appear in the narrative, (by *implication* only, however, for there is no express statement to that effect.) We condense his statements into the following points: (1.) Jewish tradition assigns seven days, and this seems to have been the origin of the Passover week. (2.) The term מַסָּע, "journey," denotes only an *encampment*, while the successive days of travel are expressed by יוֹם or "day's journey." (3.) In Numbers x, 33, we find stations three days apart, with no locality named between. (The same, we may add, is the case in Numbers xxxiii, 8. 16.) (4.) It would have been impossible for the Israelites all to rendezvous at one place and start together, especially as they all kept the Passover in their own homes the preceding night, and were not allowed to leave till morning. (Exod. xii, 22.) (5.) The distance, under any calculation, was too great for a three days' continuous march. (6.) The message to Pharaoh of their movements at Etham (xiv, 5) requires at least four days from that point to the Red Sea—two for him to get the information, and two more for his army to be got ready and overtake the Israelites. To these arguments we may add the fact that a whole month was consumed (Numbers xxiii, 3; Exodus xvi, 1) in making the first eight stations, (Numbers xxxiii, 5–11,) containing—so far as the narrative directly states—but ten days of marching. As the balance of the time could hardly have been all spent in camp—of which, moreover, there is no mention in the account—there arises a suspicion that the most prominent stations only are named, or those where more than one night's halt was made, or some noteworthy incident occurred. Of course the fugitives would travel faster, longer, and more continuously, till they were escaped from Egypt, and more leisurely after the event at the Red Sea had relieved them from danger. Be all this as it may, it is in any case clear that they could as easily journey from Ajrûd to the mouth of Wady Tawârik in one day, as they could from Tell Ramsîs to Ajrûd in two.

rafîneh, south of Mount Abu-Derâj, some sixty miles below Suez, where the sea is twenty miles wide and two hundred and fifty feet deep. This accords with certain traditions of the Arabs of the Desert, who name the warm springs in th rocks opposite after Pharoah. The inducement, however, to this view seems chiefly to be a desire to exaggerate the miracle.

Among the four localities named, the choice really lies between Suez and Ras Atâkah, and of these we decidedly prefer the latter.

Besides the works cited above, and the commentaries on Exodus, the question has been discussed by the following among the more modern writers: Kitto, "Pictorial History of the Jews," (London, 1843, 2 vols., small 4to.,) i, p. 187 sq.; Latrobe, "Scripture Illustrations," (London, 1838, 8vo.,) p. 29 sq.; Raumer, *Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, (Leipzig, 1843, 8vo.,) p. 1 sq.; Mr. Sharpe, in Bartlett's "Forty Days in the Desert," (London, 2d ed., large 8vo.,) p. 23 sq.; Wilson, "The Lands of the Bible," (Edinburgh, 1847, 2 vols., 8vo.,) i, 149 sq.; Olin, "Travels in Egypt," etc., (New York, 1843, 2 vols., 12mo.,) i, 342 sq.; Durbin, "Observations in the East," (New York, 1845, 2 vols., 12mo.,) i, p. 120 sq.; Porter, in Murray's "Hand-book for Syria," (London ed., 1868, 12mo.,) i, 9 sq.; Palmer, "Desert of the Exodus," (New York, reprint, 1872, 8vo.,) p. 42 sq.; Bonar, "The Desert of Sinai," (New York, reprint, 1857, 12mo.,) p. 82 sq.; Morris, "Tour through Turkey," etc., (Phila., 1842, 2 vols., 12mo.,) ii, 219 sq.; F. A. Strauss, "Sinai and Golgotha," (Berlin, 1850, 12mo.,) p. 147 sq. One of the most recent monographs on the subject, that of Unruh, *der Zug der Israeliten aus Ægypten nach Canaan*, (Langensalza, 1860, 8vo.,) after extending the Gulf of Suez so far north as nearly to join a deep bay of the Mediterranean, locates Succoth at the narrow isthmus, Pihahiroth at Suez, and the other scriptural localities (Etham, Migdôl, and Baal-zephon) *east* of the gulf, which on this view was not actually crossed at all. This is the rationalistic theory fully carried out. The lively writer (Kinglake) of "Eōthen," (London, 1844; New York, reprint, 1845, 12mo.,) p. 188, thus briefly puts the main points of the controversy: "There are two opinions as to the point at which the Israelites passed the Red Sea; one is that they traversed only the very small creek at the northern extremity of the inlet, and that they entered the bed

of the water at the spot on which Suez now stands; the other that they crossed the sea from a point many miles down the coast. The Oxford theologians, who, with Milman, their professor, believe that Jehovah conducted his chosen people without disturbing the order of nature, adopt the first view, and suppose that the Israelites passed during the ebb tide, aided by a violent wind. One among many objections to this supposition is, that the time of a single ebb would not have been sufficient for the passage of that vast multitude of men and beasts, or even for a small fraction of it. Moreover, the creek to the north of this point can be compassed in an hour, and in two hours you can make the circuit of the salt marsh over which the sea may have extended in former times. If, therefore, the Israelites crossed so high up as Suez, the Egyptians, unless infatuated by divine interference, might easily have recovered their stolen goods from the encumbered fugitives by making a straight detour."

Art. III.—TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

The Exemption from Taxation of Church Property and the Property of Educational, Literary, and Charitable Institutions. By Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard College.
Religion and the State. By Alvah Hovey, D.D. Boston. 1874.

In order to understand the true question of church taxation, it must be separated from another with which it has been entangled. The question is not as to taxing powerful ecclesiastical establishments holding property yielding large revenues. It is generally agreed that *church property devoted to business and yielding revenues should be taxed.* The real question is this, and only this, Shall tax be levied upon *church edifices*, the *lands they occupy*, and the *furnishings they contain—the property directly used for religious worship?* The question relates to the sixty-three thousand church edifices in the United States; the largest number of which are humble structures built by the free-will offerings of the most public-spirited of the people, and are held solely for religious ends. We must, however, discard side issues like the following:—

First: there is a vague feeling that the exemption of churches is a kind of "dead-headism." Accordingly it is

complained that in the form of churches a large amount of property annually escapes taxing. In Massachusetts it is not far from $30,000,000; in New York upward of $60,000,000. Some present this as a matter of principle, others as a matter of money. As to the principle involved in the case, we will defer the matter to a further stage of the argument. As to the money side of the matter, it will be sufficient to remember that the above-named sums, however immense they may seem when named, are only a very small percentage of the taxable property of these States. In Massachusetts it is only about one and a half per cent.; in New York about three per cent. And thus the effect in increasing the tax of any one individual is most trifling. Hon. David A. Wells, in his pamphlet on Local Taxation, shows his estimate of this phase of the subject by omitting it altogether. He is chairman of a committee appointed for the special purpose of ferreting out the evils of existing tax laws. He is in duty bound to name whatever he regards an abuse. He concurs with the largest number of thoughtful men, who have studied the subject, in locating the greatest abuse in our present methods of taxation at this point: The assessors are sworn to assess property at its true and full value. The common practice is "to assess real estate at about one third of its value, and to assess personal property, so far as it can be discovered, at its full value; so that really the honest man is oppressed while the ingenious rogue goes scot free." In the exemption of United States securities he also sees something unfair. He also finds a question worth considering as to the "taxation of indebtedness;" another as to the "taxation of mortgages." His survey of the whole subject of Tax Reform is marvelously complete. But concerning the exemption of church property and kindred matters, of which some complain so loudly, he says not a word.

Another superficial plea is that the Roman Catholics are gaining a large amount of property in this country, and it will be well to put a check upon their acquisitions. Such a check would be furnished by a tax levied upon all their property. What precedent or warrant have we, however, for entering upon legislation for any such ends? Looking at the matter with reference to practical results, we inquire, What will such a check amount to? If the wages of servant girls and

hod-carriers can erect cathedrals, they can if need be also pay the taxes on them.

The benefits that quite likely would result from taxing have been pointed out and enlarged upon. It would put a check upon extravagant church architecture. It would tend to weed out sickly Churches, and make Churches fewer in communities where they are too many and too quarrelsome. This may be dismissed with the reflection, that the evils complained of are largely hypothetical; and still further, to levy a tax for purposes such as are here indicated would be a piece of unwise and unwarranted meddling.

But some feeble arguments, on the other hand, have been urged in favor of exemption. One of the weakest is, that churches are sacred edifices dedicated to God, and therefore to tax them would be profanation. This implies a rule that would hardly apply with any thoroughness. According to this rule the man who has consecrated his possessions and himself to God ought not to be taxed! His goods should not be taxed, for they are consecrated. His poll-tax should be remitted, for his head is given to God! Still further, possibly, we would not be willing to admit the real sacredness of all church edifices. Spiritualist meeting-houses, churches where the name of the blessed Saviour is mentioned lightly or sneeringly, are not conspicuously sacred. The whole notion is most thoroughly impractical.

Then it is said, also, that churches are not sources of revenue, and therefore ought not to be taxed. For the present we may venture to say, in reply to this, that it never is recognized as a rule to exempt property because it is unproductive of revenue. Pictures, pianos, residences, pleasure carriages, and yachts; silver plate, railroad stocks, mill stocks, mining stocks, petroleum stocks, lands out west, lands in the east; all these are often, or always, the source of no revenue! Imagine a man asking, therefore, for exemption! *

The demand for continued exemption is also made upon the general ground that churches confer sundry advantages and benefits upon the community. They adorn villages, they increase the value of real estate, they elevate the taste, and refine the

* But property unproductive, because it is dedicated to the public good by the benevolent public spirit of the owners, should not be taxed.—Ed.

manners and correct the morals of the people. But the rule again claims too much. Every true business enterprise, every pure household, every honest man might, upon the same ground, ask for exemption.

The question resolves itself into one of principle. At bottom the question is:—

I. As to the true function of government.

II. The natural and necessary relation between religion and the State.

III. The right rule of taxation in general.

I. The true function of government.

Governments have been grouped into three divisions, namely, Roman, paternal, and protective. Roman governments are those in which the State is the end, and the subjects are but means. Paternal government regards the subjects not as means, but as minors requiring paternal oversight and authoritative guidance. Protective government regards the subjects neither as means nor minors, but as men requiring nothing but protection. The true office of government, according to this scheme, is to protect the life, the liberty, and the property of the people, and in all other things allow them to act for themselves; though it is commonly added as a part of the definition (and the addition is very important one) that the government may *protect itself*. The scheme of protective government is very liberal. But Herbert Spencer goes farther and pronounces all government a relic of barbarism, and ultimately to be outgrown. Spencer should be quoted in this connection, that we may see the character and drift of this current of opinion. We need hardly say that the protective theory is the quite common doctrine of American statesmen, and the pet theory of European radicals. Now it is argued that to exempt churches from taxation is wrong, because it is not in keeping with the right kind of government; it is not genuinely American; it is a remaining fragment of the union between Church and State. So it is claimed.

We are well aware that we have opened a subject not to be disposed of satisfactorily within the space of a single article—a subject, also, which the majority of writers should treat with great deference. What style of government is best adapted to the ends of human life, and whether the general spirit and

method of government should always be the same, are questions for mature statesmen to discuss. Our short history as a nation is eagerly seized upon as furnishing full data and proof of all that the wildest speculators claim with reference to entire separation of religion from the State. It has come to be the fashion to advocate the most complete ignoring of religion on the part of government, and then point to our national career as illustrating the beneficent results of such a course, and to assert that such a treatment of religion is the only treatment that is in harmony with the essential spirit of our institutions.

Now, it becomes us to remember that purely protective government is still a thing of experiment and speculation. The only close approach to it the world has ever known is in our own country. To narrow the statement a little, so that it shall include only what is pertinent to our present purpose, the only instance in which the Church has not been allied with the State from the third century to the present day, throughout the whole domain of Christendom, has been furnished by the United States.

The natural impulse of all Christian governments seems to have been to recognize the truth and importance of Christianity. It was so in America in colonial times. Nothing seemed more proper to the early settlers of the colonies than to wield the influence of government in favor of religion. In 1789 the first amendment to the Constitution provided "that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This was a step in a new direction. Still matters have been left in such a shape that precisely what relation our government organically sustains to Christianity has been, among our greatest thinkers, a matter of debate. In 1844 Daniel Webster argued the great Girard will case before the Supreme Court at Washington. He then proclaimed that Christianity was "the law of the land." He said, "General tolerant Christianity, independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and the fagot are unknown, is the law of the land."* He referred also to a

* The quotation of these sentiments from Mr. Webster's plea, so often made, is unfortunate. Had Mr. Webster been retained on the opposite side of that law case he would doubtless have taken opposite grounds. An advocate is not bound to the doctrines he maintains as an advocate.—Ed.

judgment of the highest court of Pennsylvania, the State where the case had its seat, that general Christianity was, and always had been, the common law of that government whether in colonial or State condition. Ex-President Woolsey joins issue with the great expounder, and holds that in no just sense is Christianity the law of the land; that, as far as legal forms go to give us any religious character at all, we are simply Theists, and not distinctively Christian; that the nation is actually Christian, inasmuch as the majority of the people believe in Christ and the Gospel. We cite these things that it may be seen how uncertain the attitude of our government has been and still is with respect to religion. This is a point well worth bearing in mind in this discussion. For when any one points to our national history as proving that the best possible way a government can treat religion is absolutely to ignore it, the truth compels us to reply, that our history has been too short, and altogether too indefinite, to prove any thing of much account in the matter.

It is to be distinctly remembered, also, that in our short experience we have found the impracticability of a purely protective government, and have at any rate been obliged to act on the principle that a republican government must protect itself. Its subjects are not then to be left entirely to themselves, simply protected by the State. Our history illustrates the wisdom and breadth of this saving clause. What is meant by our systems of public education? What is shown by the plan for compulsory education? With respect to the latter, these were the facts. Governor Geary, of Pennsylvania, found that one half the children of Philadelphia were not in school. The same state of affairs was found to exist in New York. Five and a half millions of the adult population of this country could not write their own names. Hence our plans and laws for compulsory education. This is not the mode of a purely protective government. It is not treating citizens as if they were to be left to themselves altogether—men, and not minors. The plain truth is, our government has been obliged to become in some degree paternal. The strict rule of protective government will not work. Two things at this point are very plain. First, that the theory which was obliged to give way for the sake of public intelligence must not assert itself too strongly

in presence of public morality and religion; and second, until advocates for taxation have some better argument to urge than that exemption is not in keeping with protective government, existing arrangements may as well be let alone.

II. The natural, inevitable relation between religion and government.

The reasons that induce the exemption of institutions of intellectual education, as schools and colleges, from taxation, apply still more strongly to our institutions of spiritual and moral education, our churches. For intellectual education is not the renewer of the soul nor the savior of the State. The only foundation that can sustain public and private morality is religion. Society needs for its safety some power that will not only awaken the intellect, but purify the heart. Men need to learn the lessons of restraining their appetites, curbing their passions, submission to authority, self-sacrifice, brotherly affection. They need to learn these quite as much as to read and write; and not merely that they may live happily, but that they may be law-abiding citizens. Whatever does the work of impressing these lessons and sentiments upon the people is therefore rendering the highest service to the State. And thus, whether formally under State regulation and control, or standing independent and alone, with the last connecting link severed, the Church is doing, and always must do, a work necessary to the State for its own protection. And so far from history showing any thing to the contrary of this, the teachings of history are all the other way. At this point we may properly notice an objection that is sometimes quite plausibly urged. Christianity, it is said, is never to employ force in carrying on her work. To levy a tax to support religion would be to employ force. Exemption of church property is in effect levying a tax for religion. And thus exemption is condemned by Christianity itself. We do not propose to analyze all these statements at present. We simply say this objection misapprehends altogether the reason and purpose of exemption. This objection is simply a gun leveled at a scarecrow. Government exempts churches not for the sake of religion, but *for its own sake.* The work of religion, as far as government recognizes it, or has aught to do with it, *is not to save men, but to make them good citizens.*

Accordingly the method and spirit of our State attention to religion are calculated to lay its broad general restraints upon the outward life, and not to lead to devout spiritual experiences. That is, the State lays hold upon one of the component parts of religion, not to advance religion, but to support itself. Murder and theft are punished not because they are contrary to the law of Christ, not because respect for life and for property are Christian sentiments, but because these crimes are dangerous to society, and these sentiments essential to public welfare. So the government may not only tolerate, but wisely even encourage, religion; not because belief in the supernatural, the authority of conscience, the distinction between right and wrong, and like general sentiments, are religious, but because these sentiments are indispensable to the stability of government. The State protects itself against utter unspirituality and moral blindness on the same grounds, and for the same reasons, as against murder and theft. Accordingly, to be consistent, the State need not and does not discriminate with great care amid varying forms of religious belief. Whatever presents itself possessing certain ordinary features of religion with perfect consistency is fostered by the government. And this because the question asked is not, What style of religion saves men? but, May not every, or nearly every, style be helpful to the State? Whether this course is dictated by the highest wisdom, whether our government ought not to go further and discriminate with some care, are questions with which we need not embarrass the present discussion. And thus it is plain, that in exempting churches, by no possibly fair construction can it be said that the State is employing force to promote Christianity. This point appears in still stronger light when we remember that the political advantage and favor thus given to Christianity are shared in by Parkerism, Confucianism, Spiritism, things anti-Christian. The advantages are not only general, but also incidental. They are not confined to Christianity, and by no means of set purpose to promote Christianity. For Christian Churches to renounce the favor or right of exemption because Christianity should not be promoted by force, would be about as wise as for Christians to renounce the right of protection for their lives and property. The one is in reality promotion of

Christianity by force no more than the other. In both cases the advantages to Christianity is incidental. The intent of the government in neither case is religious.

Under this general head we ought also to ask, To what does this plan of entire non-recognition of religion by government lead us? First, we are to have no more chaplaincies. When our statesmen assemble for their lofty work, let each man do his own praying! or let some Church (who shall decide which?) send in a minister who shall offer to pray with and for them! Let the navy and army be furnished with missionaries, whose salaries and keeping on shipboard or in camp shall be paid by the Churches, or by the sailors and soldiers themselves. Again, it is proposed that all care for the sick, the helplessly poor and dependent, is to be laid aside by the State. Charitable institutions ought not to look for government aid in any form, and because charity is a Christian duty. With terrible faithfulness to their premises the advocates of non-recognition of religion by the State come to conclusions essentially these. Still more, all legal notice of the Sabbath must cease. If the State is to maintain the attitude of indifference and non-recognition toward religion, business, pleasure-seeking, unceasing din must be as freely permitted on that day as any other. No reason can be produced for sanctioning Sabbath observance in any degree by law if we accept the starting-point.

These are not merely possible conclusions to which the plan can be forced, but conclusions which have actually been reached by those who have adopted the general doctrine, and have been at the pains to trace it out to its logical sequences. These conclusions are abhorrent to us, not because we are accustomed to something different, but because they shock our quick sense of what is natural and right. We feel at once that the plan which leads to such results ignores the relations which ever must exist between religion and government.

III. The right rule of taxation in general.

"The right of taxation," says an eminent legal authority, "is inherent in government, provided only that its exercise shall be *equal and uniform*." And yet it is interesting to note what modifications practice has compelled in that general law. We cite, as showing the points we wish here to develop, an

extract from the general statutes of Massachusetts, specifying what property shall be exempt from taxation :—

The following property and polls shall be exempt from taxation :—

First. The property of the United States.

Second. The property of the Commonwealth, except the real estate of which the Commonwealth has possession for condition broken.

Third. The personal property of literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions incorporated under the Commonwealth, and the real estate belonging to such institutions, occupied by their officers for the purpose for which they were incorporated.

Fourth. All property belonging to common school districts, the income of which is appropriated to the purpose of education.

Fifth. The Bunker Hill monument.

Sixth. The household furniture of every person not exceeding one thousand dollars in value, his wearing apparel, farming utensils, and mechanic's tools necessary for carrying on his business, not exceeding three hundred dollars in value.

Seventh. Houses of religious worship owned by a religious society, or held in trust for the use of a religious organization, and the pews and furniture, (except for parochial purposes,) but portions of such houses appropriated for purposes other than religious worship shall be taxed at the value thereof to the owners of the houses.

Eighth. Cemeteries, tombs, and rights of burial, so long as the same shall be dedicated for the burial of the dead.

Ninth. The estates, both real and personal, of incorporated agricultural societies.

Tenth. The property to the amount of five hundred dollars of a widow or unmarried female, and of any female minor whose father is deceased, if her whole estate, real and personal, not otherwise exempted from taxation, does not exceed in value one thousand dollars.

Eleventh. Mules, horses, and neat cattle less than one year old, and swine and sheep less than six months old.

Twelfth. The polls and estates of Indians.

Thirteenth. The polls and portion of the estates of persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, and poverty are, in the judgment of the assessors, unable to contribute fully toward the public charges.

This quotation is worthy of study. It is very suggestive. We cannot help noticing that there is quite a number of things exempt besides churches. But it is to be observed that property is not exempted capriciously or arbitrarily, but in accordance with the following well-defined principles.

First: it is assumed that *government must so levy taxes, if possible, as not to be oppressive.* That is, government must not defeat its own ends, and oppress the people whose welfare it is intended to secure. It is fairly presumed that there is sufficient taxable property that can yield the public revenue with comparative ease, and therefore it is unnecessary to levy taxes where they would be peculiarly burdensome. Said Governor Hoffman, "the interest of the people require a method of taxation at once equitable, effective, and *free from unnecessary oppression;* one which will yield the requisite revenues while subjecting them as little as possible to inquisitorial vexation, and which shall be attended with the least expense for official services, and afford the fewest temptations to fraud, concealment, or evasion." In view of this principle the laws of Massachusetts, just cited, exempt a certain amount of the furniture, clothing, utensils, and tools of each person; a certain portion of the property of widows, unmarried females, fatherless girls; also the polls and portions of the property of certain persons "who by reason of old age, infirmity, and poverty are, in the judgment of assessors, unable to contribute fully to the public charges." Were the tax required with mathematical equality and accuracy it would be upon some extremely burdensome.

Another principle kept steadily in view in these cases of exemption is that *government may wisely give some countenance and encouragement to measures requiring public spirit and looking to the public good.* Therefore we find that by these laws, charitable, literary, scientific institutions are exempt. For the same reason, also, favor is shown to Bunker Hill monument and the property of agricultural societies. It was well judged by the framers of these enactments that such institutions were indispensable, or at least advantageous, to the public. And as President Eliot pointedly puts the case: "If the State wants the work done it has but two alternatives—it can do it itself, or it can encourage and help benevolent and public-spirited individuals to do it. There is no third way."

Another principle closely allied to the preceding, though not identical with it, illustrated in these cases of exemption, is, that *government is not to tax its own property, or what in effect stands as such.* Thus no tax is levied upon the property of the United States, the property of the Commonwealth, and the

property of common school districts. Thus, also, the property of our higher institutions of learning is exempt; not only because the State should wisely encourage public spirit, but because this property is in reality public. As far as private gain is concerned the capital is sunk, and the advantage chiefly accrues to the public.

Such, then, are the rules in view of which property is ordinarily exempt from taxation. Who will say they are not wise and beneficent? But to carry out to their legitimate conclusion the motives of those who advocate the taxing of churches would be to annul all these rules. All that is merciful, all that has respect to the nobler side of human life, in these provisions for exemption, would be sacrificed to a groveling devotion to money. And yet these men talk and write on as if exemption were an excrescence rather than the beautiful outgrowth of humane and Christian sentiments.

Now we hold also that to tax churches would be in direct violation of every one of these modifying principles, and therefore would not be in accordance with the right and customary rule of taxation.

To tax churches would be *oppressive.* The tax would be one of the large items in the annual expenses of religious societies. And here it should be remembered that the wealth of a Church is one thing, and the aggregate wealth of its individual members is quite another. The wealth of a Church is measured to no slight extent by the devotion of those who compose it. The making of one's wealth also the wealth of the Church is a matter of voluntary and exceptional devotion. A tax, then, may cripple and embarrass a Church of large reputed wealth, but poor in what makes a Church really rich. And the burden-bearing class, commonly burdened more than is just, may find themselves staggering under a load they cannot long support. And if this, or something approaching this, be true of the stronger and more prosperous Churches, it is not hard to predict what would come to pass with the weaker ones.

To tax churches would be to withhold *encouragement from works of public spirit.* It would actually make public spirit pay a penalty. The men who at first gave to build churches would be obliged to keep on giving to keep them from being

sold for the collection of taxes. That is, the men who voluntarily tax themselves so that they pay more than their equitable share for the sake of public prosperity, would be taxed still more heavily that the tax of shirks and misers might be slightly lessened.

It would be not only taxing property already taxed, but *taxing property that is doing the work of the State.* There would be as much propriety in taxing school-houses, not, indeed, in view of legal technicality and forms, but in view of all the principles underlying law, and in view of the deep unchanging needs of human society.

There are several matters in connection with the subject we have not been able to introduce into our line of argument, but one or two of which we wish to touch merely before we conclude.

It has been said that to ask for exemption is equivalent to asking for an appropriation, and terrible pictures of churchly lobbyists maneuvering for money have been presented for the purpose of frightening the Churches into a willingness to be taxed. But plainly to our mind there is some difference between the two things. Of course both are alike in affording financial help. But there is an important difference between the two ways in which the help is given. Appropriations are specific, individual. Exemption is general, including all cases within a certain class. Appropriations are subject to legislative caprice and partiality. They open the door for bribery and fraud. Exemption is rather a matter of permanent arrangement, and is, therefore, far less liable to such abuse; in fact, corrupt exemption is almost impossible. Then, again, appropriations are liable to abuse because of the difficulty of determining the proper and just amount. In exemption the benefit bestowed is determined not by conjecture or caprice, but by the actual condition of the case. The amount of church property is a tolerably fair index to the amount of favor deserved, and this determines the amount of favor received.

A quite common objection to exemption is based upon the variety of religious sects. The State must either help all, or help some who deserve any thing else than help. We have two things to say: First, no human legislation is perfect.

Exemption would be an anomaly; it would fulfill conditions required of no other legal arrangement if there were no defects in it; and second, quite likely the large majority of these religious sects which are marked by objectionable features are still doing a work for the State with which the State could not dispense. The variety of denominations may be a good argument against organic union with any one of them, but it furnishes no valid ground for taxing them all.

It has often been proposed to assign a limit to the amount of church property exempt beyond which all shall be taxed. But this seems to rest upon the false, but at present rather popular notion that no buildings have the right to be fine or noble but dry-goods stores, railroad depots, insurance blocks, hotels, or something of the money-making kind. To exempt cheap, shabby churches because they were within the prescribed limit, might be paying a premium upon meanness. To tax a noble edifice would be quite likely to make generosity pay a fine. To fix such a limit would be a bid offered by the State to induce men to put up structures that would be a credit neither to our Christianity nor to our civilization.

But, after all, quite likely we need apprehend no danger. Some abuses will be corrected, some weak points fortified, but the main features of the case will remain unchanged. There are several facts upon which we rest this conclusion. More than two thirds of our legislators, probably, are in some sort of connection with the Churches.* If not personally allied as communicants, they are held by domestic ties or by their own preference as members of the congregation. They have helped to build the churches. They are obliged by force of circumstances, if better motives fail, to help pay their expenses. We, therefore, are quite confident that the fear of God, the respect for righteousness, the love of money, some one or more of which qualities commonly distinguish these men, will cause what is just and right in the matter to prevail.

* Against such taxation there will be the nearly unanimous opposition of all the worshipers of God in the nation, including Protestants, Romanists, and Jews. The Protestants will hold the Republican party in check; the Romanists, the Democratic. The only danger is from the semi-infidel liberalism predominant in our politics, and that requires an alert watching, and perhaps may demand some energetic counteraction. Our religious press may speak with effect.—Ed.

Art. IV.—SHOULD PRESIDING ELDERS BE ELECTED?

To discuss this question understandingly, it is necessary, first of all, to take into consideration the peculiarities of our Methodist Episcopal polity.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is unlike any other ecclesiastical organization. The child of Providence, its economy was not modeled after a previous pattern, manufactured to order, or produced by one or many legislative minds. It is the outgrowth of providential indications, as they appeared in the circumstances and wants of the times. It is because of this a practical economy. It has the strength of constitutional principles, which cannot be destroyed without destroying itself, and is at the same time so flexible that it can be readjusted to any new exigencies which may arise. It is episcopal, yet its episcopacy is as far removed from the prelacy of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal Churches as night from day. It has offices unknown among other religious bodies. The most notable of these is the presiding eldership, which is peculiarly an institution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In a most marked manner it was born of our wants, and has grown up into the bone, sinew, blood, and life of our Church polity. Because of its individuality our polity cannot be successfully compared with any other. The ecclesiastical machinery of Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Romanism, and Protestant Episcopalianism are all so different, that not a wheel, cog, bolt, or any other part, will fit into ours. In order to attach any part thereof to our own, there must be a remodeling and readjusting of the whole.

Doubtless, for all practical purposes, our Methodist Episcopal polity is unequaled in Christendom. Not that it is absolutely perfect; not that it is free from inconveniences; not that it may not need further readjustment and development to meet the exigencies of the future. But in its present form and adaptation to present circumstances, and for the present work before it, it is difficult to see how it could be improved, or rendered more efficient. Notwithstanding this, there are many who think they could materially improve it. Our American mind is mechanical in its tendencies. It runs to the

invention and improvement of machinery. This is not only seen in the mechanical contrivances which every-where abound, but in political and ecclesiastical matters as well. Every legislative body tries its hand at "tinkering up" the machinery of State; the result is a mass of "enactments," which burden our statute-books, without stimulating, fostering, or protecting a single interest of the people. So it is in ecclesiastical matters. If our Church machinery were improved with one change in a hundred that are proposed from time to time, there would not be left a single part of it remaining. Just now this inventive genius is concentrating upon improvements in the mode of appointing presiding elders. It is asserted that this part of our polity is out of joint and needs resetting, and the way to do it is for the ten thousand traveling preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church to resolve themselves into a college of ecclesiastical surgeons and pull it into place by the ballot. Just how this is to be done does not yet fully appear; but the ways of doing it are so many that there can be no difficulty in selecting the best out of the multitude proposed. The action of our fall conferences upon this question shows us that the crisis is upon us, and that we will be forced to settle it some way, and that soon. It is wise, therefore, for us to look into the matter. It is proposed in this paper to show,

I. The election of presiding elders, instead of appointing them, as now, is contrary to the constitution of our Church, and can only be reached by constitutional processes.

II. The proposed change is a radical one, affecting all the fundamentals of our economy.

III. There is no good and sufficient reason, either in the workings of the presiding eldership as it now exists, or in advantages to be gained by the proposed change, to demand it: but, on the contrary, as far as human foresight can judge, great disadvantage and positive injury.

I. The election of presiding elders, instead of appointing them, as now, is contrary to the constitution of our Church, and can only be reached by constitutional processes.

It is worthy of our attention, first of all, that this proposed change is not an attack upon the office of presiding elder as such, (at least such is not its professed object;) on the contrary, all the annual and laical conference resolutions calling for the

change declare in favor of, and loudly eulogize, the office. The change asked for is a change in the mode of their appointment. The movement is not an attack upon the presiding eldership, but upon *the prerogatives of the episcopacy.* It does not propose to *abridge* the powers of presiding elders, but to *increase* them by giving them co-ordinate power with the bishops in appointing the preachers. But it does propose to *abridge the power of the episcopacy.* It is, therefore, a question which affects our "episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency."

Our third Restrictive Rule, limiting the powers of the General Conference, is in the following language: "They *shall not* change or *alter* any part or rule of our government so as to *do away* episcopacy, or *destroy* the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Now, what is the meaning of this rule? What are we to understand it as intended to cover and guard? The way to ascertain the *true* meaning of a law, when there is any doubt as to what it does mean, is to ascertain the intention of the law-makers. This is not always ascertainable, but in this case it is, and so clearly so that there can be no doubt upon the subject. We learn from the Journals of the General Conference of 1808, (the General Conference which first ordained the Restrictive Rules,) that while this Restrictive Rule was before the General Conference for action it was moved to postpone it, "to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine upon the present subject." The motion prevailing, the following resolution was introduced:—

Resolved, In the fifth section of the Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer shall be, 'Answer 1. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders."

The debate upon this resolution continued through the greater part of three days, and the resolution was on the third day voted down by ballot, the vote standing fifty-two for and seventy-three against it. "The North-Western Christian Advocate" of September 15, 1875, in alluding to the above matter, says:—

We can imagine no ghost of a doubt that the trial of this secondary issue touching the *manner* of constituting presiding elders

was intended to define *the intent* of our constitution-makers when they used the phrases, "*Any part or rule* of our government," or "the *plan of* our itinerant general superintendency."

The vote shows that the appointment of the presiding elders by the bishops was intended to be a "*part*" or "*rule of our government*," and was to inhere in the "plan of our itinerant general superintendency." By refusing to the Annual Conferences the right to elect presiding elders as a preparatory consideration to the passage of the Restrictive Rule, they *did* place their *appointment by the bishops* in the *rule*, and by this act *did intend* and *did make* it impossible for the General Conference to take this matter out of the hands of the bishops. But if there could possibly still remain a doubt as to the intent of our constitution makers, or as to the meaning of this constitutional restriction, it can but be dissipated when the following facts are considered.

It is well known that Joshua Soule was a member of the subcommittee who drafted the constitution. Abel Stevens says, "The Restrictive Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church are attributed chiefly to Joshua Soule." Bishop M'Tyeire, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, says explicitly, "Joshua Soule drafted the constitution." If any man could know the intent of the drafters and enactors, Joshua Soule was certainly the man. Joshua Soule was elected to the episcopacy by the General Conference of 1820. He refused ordination because the same General Conference *had ordered an elective presiding eldership.* The alleged ground of his refusal to be ordained was, that the action of the General Conference in the passage of the ordinance named *was unconstitutional.* The ordinance was suspended, and the issue as to its constitutionality raised by Bishop Soule was referred to the Annual Conferences for their action, and seven out of the twelve conferences voted the action of the General Conference unconstitutional. This was at a time when it required a unanimous concurrence of all the Annual Conferences to sustain the ordinance of the General Conference, the negative vote of one conference being sufficient to settle the matter. This conclusively proves two things: first, that Joshua Soule, having drafted the "Rule," knew what it meant; and secondly, that the Annual Conferences understood it as he did, and by their

action so effectually settled the question that for more than forty years it was not raised again.

There can be no doubt as to what the framers of the "rule" meant. They knew what they were doing. They saw clearly the fallacy of having two episcopacies in the Church: one general, elected by the General Conference, and responsible to it; the other a subepiscopacy, elected by subordinate administrative bodies, and responsible to them alone. They were too wise to perpetrate such an absurdity upon the Church. The conclusion is irresistible. The next General Conference will have no power to grant the prayer of the bodies asking an elective presiding eldership. This prayer can only be granted when three fourths of the members present in our Annual Conferences, voting in the affirmative, shall ask it, and two thirds of the General Conference ensuing thereafter shall concur in the action of the Annual Conferences by voting for it. Then, and not until then, can the prayer be granted.

II. The proposed change is a radical one, affecting all the fundamentals of our economy.

Having shown how the matter is to be reached, if at all, let us look into the question itself. This "golden egg" may have an ecclesiastical viper in it, whose sting when hatched will poison the whole life-blood of our Methodism. This "little cloud" rising in our horizon, and promising such a refreshing *shower* upon our parched heritage, may have a hurricane wrapped up in it, which if let loose will sweep away every vestige of our Methodist Episcopal polity Our polity, so far as it relates to the question before us, briefly stated, is this: The Annual and Electoral Conferences elect the General Conference. The General Conference is the ministry and laity of the Church assembled in their representative capacity In this capacity they elect the bishops. To the bishops, by tacit compact and agreement, is delegated the power of appointment. The people place in the hands of the bishops their right to select their own pastors, and the preachers their right to select their own fields of labor. The rights and interests of both parties are placed in the hands of an agent of both parties, and in their representative capacity they hold him responsible for the right use of the sacred trust they have committed to his keeping. This is done because it is supposed

to have especial advantages on the whole for both parties. By it the frictions and slow movements growing out of the unwieldy manner of Presbyterian and Congregational modes of supplying Churches with ministers and ministers with Churches is avoided, and adaptability and rapidity of supply secured. In this covenant, or compact, inhere the two distinctive denominational features of the Methodist Episcopal Church —our *general episcopal superintendency*, and our *itinerancy*.

This change proposes to break this compact, and in doing this it strikes directly at these two distinctive features of our economy; and in touching them it touches the very heart and life of our polity, and must lead to a readjusting and remodeling of our whole Methodist Episcopal machinery. It has been claimed that this result would not follow, so far as our itinerancy is concerned, because our Wesleyan brethren in England have itinerancy without either presiding elders or bishops. The following extract from an editorial in the "North-Western Christian Advocate" most effectually does away with the assumption:—

> An English watch has four hundred pieces, but you must not subtract from it upon the plea that an American watch has but three hundred pieces. The two watches are adjusted to their internal components, and must be undisturbed in their respective relations. The outcome in both cases is time-keeping. So with the Wesleyan Church in England, with its plan, and so with the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, with its plan; the resultant is, itinerancy. If you substitute a single wheel, the time—the itinerancy—is lost. We are adjusted to our episcopally appointed presiding eldership, and if you make that eldership elective you must elect your bishops quadrennially, just as the Wesleyans elect presidents each year. And, finally, must come election of pastors by the people; which logical and inevitable outcome can scarcely be gainsaid.

These are wise words, but we have still higher testimony as to the soundness of our position, testimony from one who certainly understood what he was talking about. Bishop Asbury, in his Journal of July 26, 1811, says: "If the preachers take any specific power, right, or privilege from the bishops which the General Conference may have given them, *it is clear that they dissolve the whole contract of the itinerancy.*" Bishop M'Kendree is reckoned as one who understood our polity

in all its relations, and he declares of the order of the General Conference of 1820, "*Unconstitutional*, and *subversive* of the grand system of an *efficient and general superintendency and itinerancy*." This measure, then, does propose a rupture of the itinerant compact if the presiding elders are to be elected by the preachers alone, as seems to be the plan proposed by the original movers in the present agitation. In such case it proposes to take the appointing power out of the hands of the appointed agent of *both* parties, and place it in the hands of *one* of the parties exclusively. Is not this virtually saying to the people by the preachers, "We propose to break the covenant by which, for supposed mutual good, we have delegated our mutual rights to an agent appointed by and responsible to us both, and take the appointing power we have delegated to him into our own hands; we propose to appoint your presiding elders, and these presiding elders which we have appointed shall appoint us, and this agent shall be shorn of all power, but may remain, as a kind of figure-head, to *seemingly* ratify what our agents do?" Were not Asbury and M'Kendree right, when they said, "*it destroys the whole contract of the itinerancy?*" Who does not see that it levels our episcopacy to the earth? Such a course is not only revolutionary, but a usurpation of power by the ministerial order, which belongs to both ministers and laymen. It is the use of the ballot by a privileged order, to the exclusion of another order having equal rights and interests.

But it is suggested, in order to meet this difficulty, "Admit the laymen into our Annual Conferences, and let the ministers and laymen together elect the presiding elders." That would meet the difficulty of usurpation of power by the ministerial order, but it would not meet the difficulty of a rupture of the itinerant compact. Undoubtedly, if presiding elders are elected at all, laymen ought to have a voice in that election; not only upon the principles of an equality of rights with the ministry, but upon an equality of interests also. Because, if it be true, as urged, that the preachers ought to have a voice in selecting the men who hold the interests of themselves and families in their hands, so ought the people. For, unmistakably, the interests of the Churches are as much in the

hands of the presiding elders as are those of the preachers. But this implies a readjusting of our whole polity. Certainly it changes the composition and prerogatives of an Annual Conference. It greatly abridges the powers if it does not entirely take away our episcopal general superintendency. It shears the episcopacy of its power as certainly as Samson was shorn of his strength when the razor of Delilah had severed his locks from his head. It introduces two conflicting powers into the Church, the General and the Annual Conferences. A bishop is amenable to the General Conference for his acts; but by this change his hands would be tied by the Annual Conferences so he could not act, and his work would be done by a body responsible nowhere but to itself. The office of a bishop is then changed. It is no longer an *episcopacy*, but a *presidency*, which must, to harmonize with other parts of the new order, be, at furthest, changed every four years. When that time arrives we have ceased to be the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But this is not the logical end of the reform. If ministers and laymen thus combined ought to elect presiding elders, if it is unsafe to trust their appointment to an agent appointed by both and amenable to both; then the Churches ought to have the right to elect their pastors. There cannot exist a reason for election in one case that does not exist in the other. A writer in the "Michigan Christian Advocate" puts this so forcibly, as following from the reasons adduced for an elective presiding eldership, that we present here, first, the reasons given for the former, and then the reasons growing out of them, for the latter :—

Whereas, According to our present Discipline, it is made the duty of a bishop to appoint presiding elders, and "to form the districts according to his judgment;" and,

Whereas, The Annual Conference, being more thoroughly acquainted with its own members and work, is better qualified to judge of the fitness of candidates for this office, and of the most appropriate division of our territory into districts; and,

Whereas, It gives one strength and confidence, and adds to his efficiency in any position to know that he is the

Whereas, According to our present Discipline, it is the duty of the "powers that be" to appoint ministers to their various charges according to their judgment; and,

Whereas, The Quarterly Conference and the people, being more thoroughly acquainted with their own work, are better qualified to judge of the qualities necessary in the minister; and,

Whereas, It gives the minister strength and confidence, and adds to his efficiency, to know that he is the choice of the

choice of a majority of his brethren; and,

Whereas, The pastors are likely to rally with more enthusiasm to a presiding elder whom they themselves elect, and to sustain him more cordially, than to one who is appointed without consulting their wishes, or, as is sometimes the case, contrary to their expressed choice; and,

Whereas, There is no reason for the ballot in civil government, or in the other elective offices of the Church, which does not apply with equal or greater force to the election of presiding elders; and,

Whereas, The choice by ballot to official positions in the Methodist Episcopal Church has, so far as tried, been highly satisfactory, and has proved the Methodist ministry eminently worthy of the ballot; and,

Whereas, All the temporal interests of Methodist ministers, including home, salary, associations, reputation, and sometimes even health and life, are largely in the hands of the appointing power, and may be disposed of and controlled without their consent or knowledge; and,

Whereas, The privilege of being represented, and of saying who shall *give advice* as to what disposition shall be made of interests so important to the parties concerned, ought not to be denied; therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully request the General Conference, to be convened at Baltimore, Md., May 1, 1876, to so change the Discipline as to make the presiding elders elective by the Annual Conferences.

Church to which he is thus called to minister; and,

Whereas, The people are likely to rally with more enthusiasm to a minister whom they themselves elect, and to sustain him more cordially, than to one who is appointed without consulting their wishes, or, as is sometimes the case, contrary to their expressed choice; and,

Whereas, There is no reason for the ballot in civil government, or in the other elective offices of the Church, which does not apply with equal force to the election of the minister by the congregation which he may be called to serve; and,

Whereas, The choice by ballot to the official positions in the Methodist Episcopal Church has, so far as tried, been highly satisfactory, and has proved the Methodist people eminently worthy of the ballot; and,

Whereas, Ministers are appointed to exercise the most important and sacred functions, involving the highest interests of the people, without their consent or knowledge; and,

Whereas, The privilege of being represented, and of saying who shall minister in interests so important to the parties concerned, ought not to be denied; therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully request the General Conference, to be convened at Baltimore, Md., May 1, 1876, to so change the Discipline as to give the people the power to elect their own ministers.

Resolved, That we also request that the Discipline be so changed as to make it the duty of the bishops, and all others in authority, to transact all business relating to the Church, subject to the approval of the people.

Comment is unnecessary, save to add, one other result must follow. If the people select their preachers, the preachers will select their people. A wedlock so sacred as that of pastor and people cannot be consummated without the consent of both parties. When this point is reached episcopacy is ended, itinerancy is over, and the Methodist Episcopal polity is no more! We will have become Congregational, we will have lost our

connectional unity and strength, and all our great connectional enterprises will have become paralyzed and periled, if not destroyed. These, in our judgment, are some of the logical results following the innovation proposed. Our Church machinery is adapted to our Church as it is. Every part is exactly fitted to every other part, and you cannot take away a single part without readjusting all. Is it best to try it? Our Methodist Episcopal economy now keeps time around the world. Will it add to its qualities to take out the mainspring and throw away the balance wheel? We think not. In the language of the editor of the "Quarterly Review," we say:—"Ours is not, and we trust never will be, a Methodist Presbyterian Church, nor a Methodist Congregational Church, nor a Methodist Quaker Church, but just what Wesley and the fathers meant it should be, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH."

III. There is no good and sufficient reason, either in the workings of the presiding eldership as it now exists, or in advantages to be gained by the proposed change, to demand it; but, on the contrary, as far as human foresight can judge, great disadvantage and positive injury.

There is certainly little or no jarring in the movements of our Church machinery at present. There is not a Church economy in the land which works with so little friction. Our growth has been scarcely paralleled since Pentecost. Our manner of making appointments is giving more perfect satisfaction than any other mode of adjusting Churches and pastors in Christendom. The "Christian Advocate," an advocate itself of an elective presiding eldership, says in a late number:—

> Bishop Janes, in his address made a few days ago at the Annual Conference at Princeton, Ill., stated that out of about ten thousand preachers stationed during the past year by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *only three declined to accept their appointments, and not a single Church rejected its preacher.* This is a remarkable record, furnishing conclusive evidence of the loyalty of preachers and people to our general system of pastoral appointments.

The force of this statement of Bishop Janes will be more fully seen when we consider that, instead of an "Annual Conference," this conference at Princeton, Ill., was the "*General Conference*" of "*The Methodist Church*," a body having in its

polity all the proposed "modern improvements" in modes of appointment. The statement of Bishop Janes was doubtless made in view of this fact, showing that our *mode* of making appointments was working without a jar. We have no doubt but the body who listened to his words wished in their hearts they could say as much for their own. What, then, is there wrong in our polity demanding this change? What are the supposed grievances which it is proposed to right in this way? There surely ought to be something to call for so radical a change, implying in itself the risks and dangers with which the measure is fraught.

Let us now look at some of the supposed grievances, as set forth by Rev. W. R. Goodwin, D. D., in the "Quarterly Review" for January, 1875, and see if they are such as to afford sufficient grounds for the proposed change. These reasons, he says, "are many." "First, out of personal friendship or obligation a bishop may appoint an incompetent man to the office, or he may find when too late that he has acted upon *ex parte* or insufficient information." The first of these reasons is not *very* complimentary to either the sagacity or moral honesty of our bishops. Who does not know that no bishop could do such a thing as is here intimated without being arraigned for an abuse of the sacred trust imposed in him. No bishop would dare to do it, however much he might be inclined. We venture the assertion that no one ever did do it, and no one ever will do it. The insinuation is not only an insult flung into the face of every bishop in the Church, but it bears its absurdity upon its own face. But suppose it were true, the objection would have equal force against a bishop making any appointment. Could he not just as easily, "out of personal friendship or obligation," appoint "an incompetent man" to a good charge as to a district? And if he were disposed to act as intimated, would he not be as likely to do it? As to the second reason, we admit a bishop may make a mistake; but might not the preachers, or the preachers and laymen, make mistakes too? The result of the ballot in our civil affairs does not show us that our best men are chosen to office. Is it not barely possible that the preachers and laymen might "find out when too late that they had acted upon *ex parte* or insufficient information" also?

Another "reason" given is:—

> That not unfrequently the cabinet becomes a "ring" in fact as well as in name. Wherever this state of affairs exists, the presiding elders, either by exchange of districts or by aiding each other, perpetuate themselves in office. . . . When there is a vacancy, only such a man is nominated as will be in accord with the present incumbents. These men wax bold, and woe betide the man who opposes their plans or wishes.

We have never been in a bishop's cabinet, and cannot speak from personal experience of the truth or falsehood of these charges. That such a state of affairs ever did exist no sane man can believe. Its moral *animus* would disgrace "Tammany Hall," and put to shame the lowest metropolitan political caucus. We do not believe that any number of Methodist preachers ever were, or ever will be, so devoid of moral honesty, to say nothing about Christianity. We have heard of a "charity" which "thinketh no evil," but this does not savor of it. Suppose men have been continued in the presiding eldership who have shown that they possess especial qualifications for the office, is that in itself an evil? Is rotation in office an unmixed good? If so, why all the talk we hear about reforming the "civil service" of our General Government? Does a preacher become a "plotting knave" as soon as he becomes a bishop or a presiding elder? Such an assumption is not only nonsensical, it is slanderous. Presiding elders are neither better nor worse than other Methodist preachers. As a rule they are, and have been, faithful men of God, who have labored for the welfare of the Church, the interests of their brethren, and the glory of God. But let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that things are as bad as Dr. Goodwin assumes. How is the electing of men to the office going to remedy it? If it be true that "since the time our Lord's debtor made out reduced bills, in order to have a home for himself when he should be dismissed the service, men have made use of their power and position to aggrandize themselves," will they not do so if elected to that power and position? If a presiding elder "by kindness, by good promises, by four annual visits, by giving good appointments, can easily and naturally obtain the votes of his preachers" to elect him a delegate to our General Conference, why cannot they do the same thing in reference to the presiding

eldership? Will the fact that he has been voted into his office change his human nature, and reverse what is declared to have been universal since the days of the "bankrupt steward?" Our bishops are supposed to be men of at least average intelligence, and if these designing presiding elders can manipulate them as easily as intimated, why can they not, "by kindness, by good promises, by four annual visits, by giving good appointments," manipulate the preachers and continue themselves in office, and "thus become a 'ring' in fact as well as in name?"

Another "reason" assigned is, "the present size and number of the presiding elder districts." This is another question altogether, and has no more to do with the question under discussion than it has to do with a transit of Venus. The size and number of districts can be, and is, arranged under the present plan as well as under any other. Some parts of our territory have large districts and some small. There is, however, something remarkable in the fact that the loudest clamor for the proposed change comes, with rare exceptions, from the parts of our territory having the largest districts.

Another "reason" given is, "the salaries of presiding elders come largely out of the pockets of the pastors." We venture the assertion that nine out of every ten pastors in the Church will, from personal experience, pronounce this assumption untrue. On the contrary, if it were not for the friendly exertions of the presiding elder in his behalf, the "pastor's pocket" would often be a great deal emptier than it is. It is not true in the West, whatever it may be in the East, that the "people are upon the point of open rebellion" against paying the salary of the presiding elder. As a rule, there is no amount they pay more cheerfully. There are, we admit, exceptions in some of our stations where our people are not thoroughly methodized, but as a rule it is not so. But suppose it to be true that "the salaries of presiding elders come largely out of the pockets of the pastors," how will their election change the matter? Will it make the people more able or willing to pay than they now are? A presiding elder must live. "The people say we can pay about so much and no more." How, then, is his election to his office going "to put money in the pockets of the preachers?" as Dr. Goodwin assures us it will. The assumption,

were it true, might be an argument in favor of larger districts, but has not the remotest relation to the question at issue.

Another and a last "reason" is, when condensed in a few words, "The incumbents of the office are notably incompetent." This "reason" is not notable for its modesty, even when backed by the language of Abel Stevens. It bears hard upon the competency of our bishops, who so uniformly select inferior men for this office. It assumes a sagacity, as to judgment of qualifications fitting men for places, which smacks of at least a not very modest amount of self-conceit. The fact is, our presiding elders are men of average ability, neither superior nor inferior to their brethren as a class. The history of the Church will attest this. But suppose they are incompetent. Have we any assurance that to elect them would improve the quality? The average "statesman" found in our national and State legislatures does not afford us much ground for hope. Our best men are not elected to office as a rule, but wire-pullers and professional politicians. It is not true that many can choose more wisely than one. The contrary is true if the "*one*" be competent to choose. There is no rational doubt but just as good, and even a better, "article" of presiding elder can be secured by our present plan than by the plan proposed. This is true, because every intelligent Methodist preacher knows that the men who are usually clamoring after the office are of all men most incompetent for the place. Men of worth are usually modest, and do not ask or work for any position. These are not the men likely to be selected by a popular vote, but adroit, conceited, thick-skinned aspirants. The godly judgment of a bishop can be more safely trusted to select competent men than the uncertain ballot of even Methodist preachers. One can hardly tell which is most prominent in these "reasons:" the adroitness which covers up a direct charge under a supposed case, the "nightmare of rings," (those cruel and oppressive combinations of bishops and presiding elders lording it over poor preachers,) which haunts them like an apparition, or the logical consistency which makes these giants of oppression—these ecclesiastical *Anakim*, such incompetent pigmies—such "feeble folk" intellectually. The proposed panacea for all these imaginary ecclesiastical ills reminds one of a patent-medicine advertisement. It is a universal curative.

Is there any thing out of joint in the ecclesiastical body, any carbuncle, old sore, "inward pain, or festering wound?" Take a dose of the "universal elixir of presiding elder election," and all will be righted. This "medicine" will make all bad "elders" good, foolish ones wise, and selfish ones generous and kind. It will give every preacher a first-class appointment and a good salary, and make all the people benevolent, generous, kind, loving, good, and happy. Just one good old English word expresses it all—*balderdash*. But there are many good and sufficient reasons, aside from those already given, why presiding elders should not be elected. This article, already too long, will allow us to mention but two.

First. The office of a presiding elder is largely judicial, and for this reason the incumbent ought not to be fettered by the obligations, nor exposed to the temptations, growing naturally out of an elective office. The best men in our country look upon our State judicial system in this light. The judges of our courts ought to be appointed instead of elected, and for the reasons named. To elect our presiding elders would open temptations for them to promise what ought not to be performed. It would be a bar in the way of their acting upon their honest convictions and better judgments in those peculiar cases which come before every bishop and his cabinet. A presiding elder ought to be placed above these temptations, and left unfettered by personal obligations.

Second. It will result in wire-pulling, canvassing for place, and all the evils of our political caucus system. If it be said, "This need not be," we answer, *It will be*. In the language of Dr. Goodwin, "This view of the question is not from theory, not from what ought to be or might be, but from what is." The workings of the elective system in the *Protestant Methodist* and *United Brethren Churches* prove our position true. The success of these Churches, compared with our own—in harmony, brotherly love, efficiency, and growth—with the same system of doctrine—and good and true men in them—warn us against the folly proposed. The multitude of our secular elections is one principal source of our political corruptions, and the direst danger to our political institutions. Let there be one place where caucus plotting and strife for place shall not enter. Let that place be the Church. We have enough elective

offices already. Let us not make any more. It were better for us to "let well enough alone." The advice may be old, but it is good and wise. If it is unworthy of answer, because it has been urged against every reform in Church and State, it is at the same time worthy of veneration and consideration, for saving us from many evils which would otherwise have overwhelmed us. Thousands of men to-day, bankrupt and impoverished, wish they had heeded its admonition. If it has stood in the way of some real improvements and beneficial reforms, it has saved us from more that were not improvements and would not have been beneficial. Every proposed reform stands upon its own merits, and is not necessarily good because it is a reform. If the change in our Restrictive Rules on slavery, and the admission of laymen into our General Conference, was right, we are not, therefore, to conclude that every proposed change is equally wise.

Our Methodist Episcopal polity is now harmonious in all its parts. It works well as it is. Let us beware how we peril its efficiency for a doubtful improvement. The time may come when this, and even more radical changes, will be demanded. That time is not now, and may never be. Until it does come let us wait.

Art. V.—IS THE MODERN SUNDAY-SCHOOL METHOD A SUCCESS?

The true modern Sunday-school has undoubtedly this twofold object in view: *First*, The extension of the most thorough and abiding knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; *Second*, The subsequent use or influence of this knowledge in effecting the early conversion of those who acquire it. The scriptural knowledge imparted should evidently comprise not only the best attainable understanding of the substance, or the subject-matter, of the Bible, but the best appreciation, also, of its spirit and importance. The practical use or benefit of the same is the measure of conviction, or of wholesome and serious impression, which, under God, shall incline the heart to the Saviour. The first requisite must largely depend upon the form, or the aspect in which the word of the Lord is presented; the second

upon the zeal, the emphasis, and the discreet fidelity with which its lessons are applied to the conscience. And since no measure of effort can wholly compensate for a faulty method of using it, our theme might properly resolve itself into the simple query, In what shape can the truths of revelation be best imparted to the members of our Sunday-schools? Through what form or embodiment of the divine word can the average mind be the most effectually imbued with its spirit?

The pertinence of this inquiry is nowise lessened in view of the different plans by which, from year to year, this end has been sought. There was the old, literal method of Bible study, in which portions of the sacred text were learned and recited *verbatim*. No mean part did that now well-nigh obsolete custom perform in the gracious work of spiritual culture. Some of us, perchance, owe more thanks to it than we realize for whatever of exact and definite scriptural knowledge we possess.

The Catechism, that stanch memorial of pious endeavor, is freshly remembered by not a few who in their life-journey have yet to leave the green fields, and the fresh dews, and the orient sunshine behind them. How drearily they seemed to grope among its dry and doctrinal formulas in their childhood. Yet not wholly in vain; for while they only stumbled in the darkness, and thumped their heads in bewilderment against the jutting crags of deep, hard mystery which they could not solve, they at least carried the scars about afterward. They vividly remembered where they were hit, and what it was that struck them, a result which can hardly be accredited to every system that we have known of. Some stalwart champions of the faith have learned to realize their indebtedness to this heroic discipline of their early years.

Then followed the form of catechetical instruction known as the modern question book. This was only a diluted catechism, the concentrated pulp and essence of the latter being reduced to suit the majority, who had proved unable or unwilling to receive the full strength. And if no higher standard of culture was apparent in consequence, there was certainly no lack of either abundance or variety in the means devised. The mass of question books that flooded the country was surprising. It seemed like a general deluge. There was no uniformity in their character, and their selection for use seemed wholly a

matter of chance. The confusion thence arising would have served as a tolerable reproduction of original chaos. One class was as independent of another in this matter as if situated upon a different planet. Each had a book of its own, adopted without the least regard to the others. If two or more happened to hit upon the same choice, there was no thought of any agreement in the study of the lessons. It was not uncommon to see several different question books in the same class, one scholar being at work somewhere in the Old Testament, another somewhere in the New; still others, with disheartening frequency, nowhere in particular. Thus the unity of the class was destroyed, and with it all healthy rivalry in the study of the Bible. Much of the instruction was superficial in the extreme. A favorite mode of recitation was for the pupils, when questioned, to read the answers in order from the book, such conduct being to a large extent tolerated by the teachers. Whether or not this chaotic era of question books was any help to the Sunday-school, it is certain that a multitude of zealous and capable learners soon became disgusted with the working of such a method and discarded it altogether.

It was a natural reaction from this confused and faulty mode of Bible culture that finally produced the present uniform or International Series. This is an attempt to *unify* as well as to popularize the study of the Scriptures. It has many features of obvious excellence. The selections which form its scriptural basis are, in the main, judicious. They usually present a leading doctrinal sentiment in some graphic narrative or descriptive portion. They are so brief as to encourage the most careful study, so varied as to favor a continued interest, and so comprehensive as to bring some striking event or some cardinal principle to view in each. They are chosen in turn from both the Old Testament and the New, a fitting assertion of the great evangelical idea that there is a Gospel according to Moses as well as a Gospel according to Matthew. This is also pertinent in view of the popular skepticism, which gives a condescending nod of recognition to the words of Jesus, but treats the majestic thunder-tones of Sinai about as reverently as it would a last year's almanac.

The uniform feature of this system, which contemplates its ultimate universal adoption, is at least a point of interest in its

favor. There is something grand in so vast a conception. It is thrilling to reflect that the little string of verses, so quietly studied and discussed of a Sunday in the vestry or the class room, may, before that Sunday is done, have also inspired the thoughts and warmed the hearts of uncounted myriads to the ends of the earth. It widens the range of our citizenship when our hearts thus throb in sympathy with so vast and so elect a multitude. And when the dissonant tongues of men shall encircle the earth with these harmonious echoes of the living word, the noblest chorus will be sounded that ever swelled upon the air since the morning stars sang together.

To increase the interest and the utility of this method many ingenious ways are provided. The religious papers teem with weekly notes and explanations. Suggestive hints and questions are published a year in advance upon all the lessons. There are outline charts, maps, and diagrams. There are "picture papers" and black-board exercises. There are stories told, historical facts quoted, and scientific principles adduced. There is seemingly every help which human need can suggest, or human skill supply. Surely with a system like this, presumably the best of its kind ever invented, with aids which the best of talent has been exerted to produce, it is reasonable to look for some encouraging fruits in return.

It is not enough to show a large, nor even an increased, attendance upon our Sunday-schools. That has long enough been the standing boast of the Church. With live hands and brains to ply the machinery, there was never any trouble, either with or without a system, in swelling the numerical lists. It is of little use to plead the good behavior and the seeming interest of the majority. Skillful workers are always able to bring this about whether they teach any thing useful or not. It will hardly suffice to claim that a tolerable smattering of Bible lore has been gained by many within a given time. A good story-teller of pleasant manners will lead along an average crowd of *gamins* from the street corners to that extent if he can only pin them long enough, and they need not study a word meanwhile. But if the modern Sunday-school method has proved an undoubted success, we may rationally expect a positive increase of sound Bible intelligence among the majority of those who have used it.

Now, is the mass of our Sunday-school goers really growing stronger in the Scriptures? loving the word of God better? more ready to step from the class into the pew to hear it preached? Are even the professing Christians who attend school with the rest, able to trace the landmarks of their faith more clearly and to give better reasons of the hope that is within them?

The facts hardly warrant such a belief. The prevailing ignorance of the Bible, just where we ought the least to expect it, is the proverb of to-day. Teachers of all grades inform us how little interest for study they see; how few passable lessons are recited; how many pupils are constantly dropping out of school in their early "teens," or before, too ignorant to tell whether Joshua is a Bible character or not, whether the Gospel of John is in the New Testament or the Old, and it may almost be added, to distinguish the Decalogue from the Declaration of Independence. It is astonishing how few of the *religious* portion of the scholars, either old or young, ever allude to the Scripture,s or make any quotation therefrom in giving their experience. *There is a general and deplorable want of familiarity with the divine word.*

As to church going, that may almost be reckoned among the obsolete customs. It is a chronic lament of the age that so small a fraction of our Sunday-school membership is seen at public worship. A penal statute would certainly have failed to empty the pews as thoroughly of youth and of children as we now see them. One needs only to stand at a safe distance from any church door, at the close of an ordinary school session, to behold the swarms that rush out upon the sidewalk and disappear while the bell is ringing for the afternoon service. It would not be an irrational inference for one who was ignorant of this modern usage, that the measured toll which invited the worshiper to enter the courts of the Lord was a fire-alarm which had broken up the school in confusion. The facts which observant eyes may witness every Sabbath are no flattering comment upon the efficiency of the present modes of early religious training.

But who is to blame? At whose door shall we lay the burden of this remarkable ignorance and apathy concerning the word of God? It is a common fashion to brand the Sunday-

school teachers with charges of incompetency and unfaithfulness. The superintendents and the pastors have also been treated to a liberal share of reproach for their short-comings in this connection. It would, indeed, be strange if many failures were not apparent in so vast an aggregate of persons undertaking these duties. Yet all that the Sunday-school is, or has ever accomplished, is, humanly speaking, due to the same class of helpers and of efforts that now keep it in existence. It has always been subject to the same kind of difficulties that now oppose it—the common lot of all systems requiring human aid in their administration. This fault can hardly be exceptional enough at present to account for the evil in question, especially since the most faithful and competent workers have, in great numbers, declared their inability, by the use of the modern method, to make any headway against it.

Much of the prevalent dearth of interest in Bible study has by some been ascribed to the lack of home religious training. This plea, however, is illogical, since the existence of the Sunday-school itself is due to this very cause. It was, under the providence of God, called into being expressly to correct this evil. Not a single duty is done in connection therewith that, of moral right and of divine requirement, does not belong to the parents at home. A proper enforcement of the Mosaic law, if possible, in this particular, would in a week render the Sunday-school, as an institution, as thoroughly useless as a medieval relic.

The lack of interest in Bible study has also been largely attributed to the unspiritual tendencies of modern thought and opinion especially fostered in turn, by the alarming prevalence of pernicious literature. There is undoubted force in this idea. Not to appreciate so grave a hinderance is to have played a very trifling part in any effort for the moral improvement of the community. The worldliness, the sensational taste and temperament, the irreverence, the positive skepticism of the age, are often reflected in the discussions of the Bible class, to the annoyance and the discouragement of the best teachers. Yet it is the rational boast of our Christian faith, that the Holy Spirit, acting through well-chosen means, is a constant overmatch for these tendencies. It is hardly consistent with sound theology, with a lively confidence in God, or

with earnest and untiring effort, to give Satan credit for any such power to withstand the Divine work. In the general advancement of the Church, subject, as that is, to the same influence in its most developed and malignant form, the glorious record of revival intelligence for the last twelve months has been a steady witness of triumph. It is humiliating to give up beaten when these holy endeavors are only met by a less mature, and consequently a less formidable, opposition of the kind.

It would, therefore, seem, that while due importance should be ascribed to the several hinderances alluded to, the evil in question needs to be largely accounted for by some other explanation. So vast a concentration of talent and of effort ought surely, under God, to bring a more encouraging show of results, provided that the methods and the appliances in use are what they ought to be. And this leads directly to the question: If, in the present mode of Sunday-school teaching, as practically applied, there is not an inherent tendency to defeat its own object? These elaborate "helps" to the study of the Bible, this wealth of illustration, this variety of object-teaching, these endless pictorial embellishments, these vaunted wonders of the blackboard, these volumes of fact and of suggestion that accompany the weekly lessons — are we sure that they do not actually blind the eyes of the masses to the true purpose of Bible study? This is too serious a thing to be answered with a monosyllable, or dismissed with a simple wave of the hand. It is no more than courtesy to stop and consider if any valid reasons appear for a suspicion of this kind.

Now, we should first remember that an explanation, to be really useful and effective, requires some previous knowledge of the subject under consideration. Where nothing is known there is nothing to illustrate. These mental helps add no truth. They are only collateral; they merely elucidate and enforce the truth which the subject itself contains; and this, either wholly or in part, must be previously ascertained by the learner, or the effort to illustrate it fails. Our modern system constantly takes this previous knowledge for granted, or else it supposes a taste for study which practically amounts to the same thing; whereas the mass of pupils, of all ages, are either largely or totally ignorant of the Bible when their connection

with the school begins, and equally barren of any studious inclinations. Hence the prime need of the teacher is, not to tell stories, nor to fumble over charts, nor to scrawl hieroglyphics upon a blackboard, but to impart or to require some actual knowledge of the subject-matter precisely as the Bible contains it. The habit of study must, if possible, be formed on the part of the scholar, or much of the effort used for his improvement will be wasted.

Second. The present mode of instruction, as very commonly practiced, tends to unfit and to disincline the average pupil for the effort required to master the living word. There are few scholars who do not prefer to be simply told that a thing is so, rather than use the needed exertion to ascertain the fact. It is easier to look at a picture, to watch the motions of a clever hand at the blackboard, to join in a running chat with the teacher, or to hear a lively speech, well spiced with entertaining stories, than to put on their own thinking-caps and to work out the results for themselves. And the longer we keep this up the worse it is. Being more and more accustomed to these modern devices for catching the ear and for pleasing the eye, no solid accumulation of Bible treasure being secured meanwhile, they become more and more averse to any serious thought or effort. It is already impossible, in many schools, to hold attention to the most instructive themes without a liberal seasoning of anecdotes or of odd and laughable sayings. Often the most popular talkers to the young are little more than retailers of cheap stories, with enough of very ordinary small-talk to string them together. But solid questions, of measureless interest, which Bible readers of moderate information ought readily to answer by quoting familiar passages, go begging around whole classes, without eliciting a word in reply.

Third. In such a mass of instructions, comments, and illustrations, with so slight a foundation of direct Bible knowledge laid to require them, only a small proportion is retained by the scholar after the recitation is ended. The most of it, however attentive the hearing, is forgotten about as soon as it is uttered. This follows in the nature of things. If too little interested in a subject to study it when ample time has been given, we are apt to care as little for any subsequent ex-

planation of it; so what comes without effort is pretty sure to go in the same way. How true this is in practice may be convincingly found by questioning any average class upon the lesson of a week previous. If one in five shall answer correctly, or recall any explanation, or quote a single statement or illustration previously used in reference to it, then a new era must have dawned at a very recent period.

Fourth. It is a mistake of the present method to suppose that such extended helps are necessary to the mass of learners. The Bible, as to its practical influence upon men, needs no such profusion of comment and of exposition. An unlettered man, having received as a present from a friend a copy of Shakspeare, with notes, was subsequently asked how he liked the book. He said that he could understand the *reading* very well, and he hoped that after awhile *he should be able to understand the notes!* Now the "sincere milk of the word" does not require a great deal of watering nor fixing. The things most needful and profitable for the elementary instruction which is mainly the kind required in the Sunday-school are simple enough as a general thing, and the more literal and undiluted the form in which they are mastered the better. The stories of Jesus are full of the richest doctrine; they contain the meat and the marrow of all truth. They are poetic as the idyls of the golden ages; they are as fascinating as a fiction; they are more instructive than any science or history. Yet they are as easy for a child to understand as the stories in his primer. The principal thing required at first is the careful study which shall thoroughly impress their facts and their substance upon the mind. And a hundred other parts of the Bible have a similar fund of instruction equally suited to all classes. A more critical study of the sense will naturally follow, as the mind becomes gradually stored with the substance, and the spirit of inquiry is awakened. It is not always best to stop and explain even the hard passages that sometimes occur in the midst of the easiest portions. The squirrel, in laying up his store for the winter, does not stop and try the nutshells to see if they will crack easily. He piles them in the hard and the soft together, while the golden haze of the autumn is on; he will whet his teeth at leisure upon the rugged butternuts and the tough shagbarks when the days have

shortened, and the snows grown thick. Many a passage of Scripture, learned at first with little thought or care what it signified, has in later years recurred, with thrilling interest awakened to know its meaning. Thus have arisen some of the most refreshing and hallowed impressions of a life-time.

Fifth. The general plan of the present lesson course is not adapted to those who really stand the most in need of it. Its range is too extensive. It covers too broad an area for their untrained vision to traverse. Always suggestive of some deep, underlying truth, admirably suited to the few trained and studious minds in school, it shoots directly past the great majority. The weekly verses merely sketch a line of thought, requiring a grade of mental exercise for which hardly one in a dozen is qualified. They are wholly fragmentary; they are chosen at intervals, with extended portions omitted; they give only a glimpse of the general idea; they need to be as critically and as consecutively studied as a course of higher mathematics. It is an impossible task to interest the general run of pupils in a work so comprehensive and elaborate.

These are hard, stubborn difficulties, which have long tried the patience and baffled the skill of teachers. They inhere in the system; they are inseparable from its present structure and requirements. They have been fully attested by many experienced and faithful workers, who have given years of toil to the Sunday-school, and have mourned the inefficiency of their efforts. It will require a good many taunts of indolence and incompetency at their expense to alter the facts. The whole thing is operated on a wrong principle, and the fruit is daily seen in the popular ignorance and disrelish concerning the Bible.

Before the meaning of the Bible can be understood, or its spirit imbibed, it is evidently necessary to know what the Bible says. And what other method is so effectual at the start as to commit the language of the Bible to memory? In what other way can a person become really skilled in the handling of God's word? A precise quotation of Scripture does infinitely more to fix a point or to clinch an argument than any possible statement of its substance. One reason is, that the Bible language is so apt and forcible in itself, that, as a general thing, we can put none so good of our own in its place. Another reason is

that the Bible, in spite of the popular skepticism, is actually held in very high reverence by the people at large. There is a sense of authority and of power, when it speaks, that most men feel, if they refuse to acknowledge it. An exact quotation, therefore, is, to a remarkable extent, an end of strife. Many a time has blatant infidelity been silenced by a timely shot from the armory of truth. It should be also remembered, that the devil was once put to flight in the same manner. Imagine him foiled and routed in the climax of the great temptation by a modern blackboard sketch or a taking story! A third reason is that a good command of Scripture language evinces a higher quality of mind and of intelligence than any other knowledge in equal degree. The crowd will admiringly quote the man, however illiterate otherwise, "who has got the whole Bible at his tongue's end." There are some localities in New England where the ability of a preacher is to-day rated by that standard, more than by all other tests combined. The gifts of oratory count for little, but if he can fire sharply and accurately from the batteries of God's word, he is at once voted *smart* by acclamation. And is not the critic "smart," too, who is able to invent a better rule of judgment?

Now the golden opportunity to begin this work of acquisition is none other than the period of childhood and of early youth. The extreme tenacity of the memory at that time insures a permanency of retention, which is commonly denied to later acquisitions. Passages from the Bible, learned at the mother's knee or in the infant class, shine forth in after life with surpassing vividness of recollection. It has been a pleasure to verify this truth, to some extent, in connection with the present subject. Special inquiries have been made of many old and middle-aged persons, who, with touching eagerness, saints and sinners alike, have told their experience in getting verses by heart. And they have almost invariably repeated, for illustration, the *first one* that they ever learned.

Another advantage is, that the style of the Scripture language is peculiarly suited to this early work of memorizing. It is very easy to learn. There is a nameless charm in the phraseology that readily fixes it in the young mind. Thus it naturally follows that the spirit of the language is more likely to make a lasting impression. Children are so highly suscep-

ible to religious convictions, that a careful nurturing in the word of God from the start will increase, beyond all estimate, the likelihood of their early conversion. Considering, also, how much more tractable they are, as a rule, than older persons, how much easier to manage, in regard to their studies, in the Sunday-school, it seems hardly possible to begin this foundation-work too soon.

To correct, therefore, the gigantic evils already shown, and to render the grand mission of Bible teaching effective, more attention must be paid to first principles. This endless talk *about* the Bible must give place to a more direct and literal acquisition *of* the Bible. And to make the reform radical, let the process begin *at once* with the primary department. Let some easy and suitable portion of Scripture be selected, and given out in lessons of only two or three verses at the start, the same to be learned by each pupil in time for the next Sabbath. The amount may be increased from week to week, as the task becomes familiar and the memory gradually strengthened. To read the verses over to the class a few times when giving them out will render them partially familiar, and thus help the case materially. On the following Sunday let the passages so learned be carefully recited to the teacher, word for word, by each pupil in succession. On no account should this ever be omitted. The special business must now be *to learn the Bible*, and there is no other test of proficiency possible at so early an age; it is *absolutely that or nothing.* An occasional review of former lessons, with suitable questions upon the facts already learned, will help to rivet them in the mind, the same as in any other study. All needful explanation should, of course, be given by the teacher as the growing spirit of inquiry shall seem to demand it, but never as a regular part of the recitation. The same restriction should be laid upon all charts, outlines, blackboard sketches, and other illustrative exercises, except as the merest recreations, after the solid work of the session is done. They are wholly unnecessary at this stage of proceeding, and of very doubtful expediency in the long run.

As to the trite objection that this is only a wholesale, unreflective process of "cramming;" what if it is, provided the material accumulated be of the right kind? The squirrel

does not "reflect" what he is laying up nuts for; but he obeys the commands of his instinct, and finds the nuts very handy in the winter. The child follows the teacher's counsel, with almost as little thought what he is doing it for, but he finds in after life what a priceless treasure he has gained. Said a high-school teacher of character and experience recently, "It is the educational humbug of the day that a scholar shall learn nothing unless he understands it." Cramming let it be, and the more of it the better, so long as the certain alternative lies between the Bible and Oliver Optic's stories!

The proper use of credits and of premiums will be found of excellent service in waking up ambition, provided it be so employed that all who try to do well shall have proportionate recognition. There is entire justice in the principle, and no more objection to it here than in secular schools of every grade, where it has been found a virtual necessity. The millennium is a little too far off yet to discard all incentives of the kind, especially since even the highest moral precepts of the Bible are commended to our obedience upon the same principle.

Much is gained by assigning to these young pupils a part in the various concerts, anniversaries, Christmas celebrations, and the like. It should be purely scriptural, and adapted to the occasion. The usual "readings" and recitations at such times are often thin and profitless enough to bring the whole concert system into contempt. But a connected portion of Scripture may be rendered with striking effect by little children, each reciting a verse or more in order. Nothing awakens their own interest more than this, and nothing ever holds a crowd in greater quietness. The fund of Bible knowledge that may thus be acquired in a single year would surprise one not familiar with the facts.

The general process here outlined will be essentially aided by the use of a suitable Catechism—not the ordinary compendium of doctrine under that name, but something easy and simple, expressly designed for the purpose. The "Easy Lesson Book," by Rev. Z. A. Mudge, of the New England Conference, is one of the best things of the kind in existence. It contains a virtual digest of the Scripture theology, and can be mastered without difficulty in a few months, even with the aid of oral teaching alone. This measure of knowledge would

of itself, be a precious attainment. But it will add a great deal of interest to future Bible study to have these principal landmarks of truth plainly sketched out in this way beforehand. A traveler upon an unfamiliar street, at midnight, is glad to see a row of lights glimmering along the way before him, though they may be a furlong apart, and the intermediate spaces dark as ever. It looks familiar and cheerful to him, and he presses on with lighter footsteps. Later progress in study is always quickened when anticipated by these glimpses of leading principles obtained in the impressible years of childhood. It is a significant fact, in this connection, that one of the leading Congregational Churches in Boston has introduced the "Old Assembly's Shorter Catechism" as the chief text-book in its Sunday-school.

Now these suggested measures of reform are very simple. Yet in principle they fully meet the difficulty. If the true object is to master the contents of the Bible, there is clearly no other process of doing it, or at least of beginning it, so effectually. And should these principles be applied, with reasonable patience and fidelity, to the infant department alone, five years would witness a virtual revolution in the *status* of the Sunday-school. The practical efficiency of the work would be increased tenfold. The quickened intelligence of the pupils thus trained, however young, would be immediately apparent, and the influence of their example wholesome from the start. And they would soon, and constantly thereafter, be graduating into the higher classes, and carrying the force of this improved training with them, to make it ultimately felt throughout the school. Two or three of such in a class of a dozen would give character and stimulus to the whole.

And this scheme is entirely practicable. Not the least difficulty exists that ordinary pains will not readily overcome. Little children can always be depended on. They are pliant, docile, confiding, full of enthusiasm; they will do with their might any thing reasonable, if within their power. They will learn songs, they will commit pieces, they will appear in all weathers promptly at the hour, they will sing or speak, unembarrassed, when hundreds are present. They never fail, and it is highly absurd to suppose that they will not as readily adjust themselves to this new line of procedure whenever the

proper means are used. *They will do it. They have done it* in cases personally known to the writer, where experiments have been tried for months with special reference to this object.

With these primary conditions fulfilled, it is easy to forecast the certain tendencies of the future. But the work of improvement need not be confined to these limits. It may be applied, in some measure, to the advanced classes. Doubtless many of the older pupils, and possibly a majority, being unused to the discipline, and ignorant of the certain advantage, will decline to make the needful exertion. Yet some can be found in every school who, even to adult years, are ready to fall in with the plan. Such as commonly do the active work in dialogues, recitations, and the like, whenever a concert or an exhibition is held, will be sure to co-operate, with a little persuasion. The example of one or two such, to begin with, would be wholesome, and materially aid in creating a healthier state of things.

In cases where little of actual memorizing can be induced, pupils should by all means be encouraged to seek a knowledge of the *substance.* Few scholars, of eight or ten years old and upward, are unable with careful reading to master a brief lesson well enough to give a tolerable statement of its contents. This should always precede any questioning upon the sense. What does the Bible *say?* When that is answered there will be ample time to ask what it means, and a vastly better chance of finding out. As to the lazy or the stupid incorrigibles, who will never try to learn any thing, and will never answer a question, unless they have a chance to read the answer from a Bible or a lesson-leaf, the only way left is to pray for them, and then be as patient as possible.

The parts chosen for the lesson-text should undoubtedly be those which contain the largest proportion of spiritual meat, in the form best adapted to all classes. In the four Gospels, the consummate flower of all Scripture, the conditions of a proper choice are never wanting. Unquestionably the first work of Bible acquisition should there begin. Next to the recorded life and teachings of the Saviour, the Old Testament is prolific in treasures to enrich all minds and hearts. The stories of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, of Joseph and his brethren,

of Samuel, of David and Goliath, of Daniel, of the three Hebrews in the furnace, are of surpassing and unchangeable interest. The history of the Creation should sometime be the lesson of every scholar who can be persuaded to learn it. The Ten Commandments should no more be omitted from the list than the Bible itself should be omitted. The Psalms are wonderfully adapted to the same purpose, especially when used to supplement the teachings already indicated. Mr. Ruskin, in a beautiful tribute to his sainted mother, says that she required him, in his early childhood, to commit large portions of the New Testament *and of the Psalms* to memory. There are also parts of sacred prophecy that merit a high place upon the chosen list. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is a grand illustration; being well-nigh the Gospel itself in miniature.

The present purpose, however, scarcely requires any further enumeration of subjects. The line of study already indicated is rather suggestive than strictly definite. The principle involved represents the imperative need of the Sunday-school to-day. The details may be varied according to circumstances. The choice and the arrangement of topics, the selection of passages, the proper alternation of the Old Testament with the New, and similar questions, will be easily settled without hinderance to the work itself. The Church should prescribe and publish the order of study, the same as it publishes hymn books, catechisms, and doctrinal works; and this, either by its own authority, or by agreement with the other Churches, as in the case of the International Series. Thus the present advantages of uniformity would be equally realized, the official indorsement of the plan would insure its general adoption, while the hearty co-operation of ministers, superintendents, and other Sunday-school workers, would guarantee its success from the beginning.

It has been claimed that ample provision for memorizing Scripture is already afforded in the Uniform Series. There is a Golden Text every week, which expresses some truth germane to the subject, and is intended to be learned by heart. Also a portion of the lesson, embodying its most impressive fact or sentiment, is printed in more conspicuous type than the rest, and set apart for the same purpose. A glance, however, at the structure of the present system will discover how poorly

contrived these arrangements are to answer the true end in view. The Bible selections, however fit and forcible in themselves, and suited to the maturer stages of advancement, are largely unfit for young pupils to memorize. They are frequently chosen from parts of the Bible that the most exacting literalist would never dream of assigning to that use, so long, at least, as a hundred other and better places had been omitted. They are also scattered and fragmentary to the last degree. They are separated by intervals of a chapter or more. They are abruptly severed from their connections, often dividing paragraphs, and sometimes even sentences, in two. Thus they give only glimpses of the sense, and rarely afford a complete statement of any important fact or principle. They are harder to learn and to remember, they are less interesting, and they fail to embody the knowledge that is really the most needed, under the circumstances. Even the grand series of lessons from the Gospel of John, which covered the latter half of 1875, while so admirable for sketching a course of advanced Bible study, was presented in such an array of disjointed slices and segments, that a beginner might learn the whole of it, and yet have little idea who Jesus was, or what he came into the world to do.

The Golden Texts are equally unsuitable. They have even less attraction for the mass of pupils. Each is entirely separate, isolated from every other, merely appended to a lesson as a sort of motto or moral reflection. Of themselves they follow no plan, they form no system, while their constant relation and allusions to other subjects not familiar to the majority do not relieve their dryness nor their obscurity a great deal. Were the whole series of selected verses, Golden Texts and all, mastered word for word, their unmethodical, piecemeal character would largely discount the value of the achievement. The mind would be lumbered with a mass of chips and of fragments, rather than carefully stored with an assorted variety of Scripture material. It would be an odd way of setting-up in the watch trade to shovel a cartload of movements, cases, crystals, and safety-chains into a miscellaneous heap on the floor. The larger the stock, the worse the confusion. Better far a dozen good time-pieces in perfect order, of styles to suit the market, ready for sale at a moment's notice. Even

a few choice selections from the Bible, each complete in itself, giving a full, clear view of some grand topic, would be better than the whole Bible stowed away in a confused jumble.

It is natural to ask how long this elementary work of the memory in Bible study shall last. Such a question is pertinent, too; for with a growing knowledge of what the Scriptures *say*, will certainly come a growing desire to know what they *mean*. Some general idea of the sense will ordinarily follow the earliest efforts of a child to master the language, especially if aided by judicious hints from a good teacher. The more thorough and critical study of the text belongs, of course, to a period of riper reflection, when the use of the memory shall be a less mechanical effort. The time will eventually come when the best of scholars will deem it unnecessary to spend a great deal of time in that way. The question, however, will easily settle itself. There is little danger of overdoing such a preliminary work, for it is inconceivable that the mind can be too amply stored with the words of inspiration, any more than the world can be too full of light. It is perfectly safe to advise the continuance of this mode as long as practicable, and scholars habituated to so wholesome an exercise may usually be in no haste to abandon it. Then, too, as the habit becomes settled, the labor required will gradually diminish, till hardly more than a careful reading or two will be necessary to fix a lesson of moderate length in the mind. Not until at least the salient points of the Gospel story shall have been mastered, with enough of the Old Testament to "sample" it well, should this prime effort be allowed to slacken. With the infant departments brought speedily into line, as indicated, with a corresponding application of the same principle, so far as practicable, to the older classes, and with reasonable effort on the part of teachers to urge on the work, a familiarity with the Bible, quite unknown to the mass of modern pupils, will soon reward the endeavor. And it will be strange, indeed, if a taste for the study of sacred truth is not created, wholly impossible with the wretched surface-skimming of the present day. Then, as attention shall be gradually diverted to the more critical study and discussion of the themes presented in the Bible, there will have been a solid basis of material secured, which will lend unflagging interest to these later investigations.

To provide for this want, an arrangement, not unlike the International Series, is needful, but simplified, to reach the majority better. There is no necessity, for ordinary uses, of so comprehensive and elaborate a plan. It will do for theologians and for thinkers; but the masses in the Sunday-school are not of such. Instead of a grand system of doctrinal philosophy, running along from year to year, some prominent topic should be chosen, and pursued from week to week until finished. Instead of little fragments of Bible text, hammered off here and there, once in a chapter or two, merely to illustrate a general plan, the lessons should follow the single topic, with nothing essential omitted to break their continuity. When finished, let another theme be taken up and followed in like manner. Thus would completer views be gained, and more vivid impressions wrought, than through the present system, even though less ground should seem to be traversed in doing it. The verses would also be easier to commit, if desired, because more consecutive; likewise more profitable and available, for the same reason. With the great cardinal subjects and leading characters of the Bible thus assigned, in portions of moderate length, for weekly study, it would be easy enough both to master all the essential facts and principles of each, and to gain a good, practical understanding of their sense.

And this involves not the least difficulty. The Uniform Series can, without the sacrifice of one essential quality, be readily adjusted to meet this requirement. The International Committee has only to shift a point or two in its course, and the thing is done. The essential idea of popular, uniform study need not be changed. The plan of suggestive questions requires no alteration. The arrangement of home readings, collateral topics, and the like, is well enough. Only let the general scope of the system be more carefully adapted to the wants and the capacities of the majority, who, by the improved elementary training already suggested, will soon come to require and to appreciate it. But let no sensible person ever dream of bridging over, with any abundance of story-telling, picture-drawing, or other cheap device now practiced, the wide, deep gulf between the ignorant masses and the solid intelligence required to work the present system. As well try to prepare them in that way to enjoy algebra or conic sections.

before they have learned the multiplication table. Whoever tries to ignore the conditions of healthy progress in such a manner will find up-hill business before he gets through. There is no way to *talk* a great deal of accurate, available Bible knowledge into the head of one who has either neglected or refused to *study for it himself*.

It has been mildly objected to such a modification of the present system, that it would act as a hinderance to the forward scholars, who like to advance more rapidly. Well, so it might, especially if forward scholarship is merely reckoned by the ground gone over. But if the Sunday-school was not expressly created for the one in ten or so, who would study the Bible whether there was any school or not, the one in ten ought not to mind a little hinderance if the other nine could be quickened all the more. This, however, is a groundless fear. It is not proposed *to simplify the Bible*, nor to disregard one of its truths, nor to delay for a moment its legitimate study, but to *compact* and to simplify the method of searching it. The man who should hoe a single row in his field, then skip a dozen, intending to go back sometime and hoe another, would be likely to find himself the gainer, in the long run, by finishing as he went. And if any are too wise or too worthy to time their own studies somewhat to the moral needs of the multitude living in ignorance, there is little place for them among the workers for God. They have outlived their day, and had better pray to be translated at once to the region where human aid is no longer available.

Is the modern Sunday school method a success? As a guide to progressive study, as a help to careful reflection, its merits have been fully attested in the foregoing pages. To those largely familiar with the Scriptures, it is especially rich in suggestions. Whatever its defects, it has undoubtedly given a healthy impulse to the general interests of Bible culture. It has united the friends of the Sunday-school, and centralized their efforts. It has attracted and aided intelligent searchers of the divine word. It has quickened to new interest many who had ceased to improve their beginnings of knowledge. Others, unblessed with early acquirements, but exceptionally energetic, have caught its inspiration, and learned at last, by its help, to love the Scriptures. For these mature and self-

reliant minds it is, in all likelihood, the best arrangement that ever existed. But as to the general mass of those who fill our Sunday-school classes, whose knowledge of the Bible is virtually limited to the instruction there received, it is a widespread, though unpalatable, conviction, *that it has, from the outset, been a practical failure.*

Art. VI.—THE DISRUPTION OF METHODISM.

The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844–1846. Comprising a Thirty Years' History of the Relations of the Two Methodisms. By Edward H. Meyers, D.D. With an Introduction by Dr. Summers. Nashville and Macon: A. H. Redford, Agent. 1875.

Methodism was planted in America and nurtured faithfully by men of God who were in perfect accord with John Wesley's views on religious experience and Christian morality. American slavery was deemed "the vilest that ever saw the sun," as Mr. Wesley put it, and he struck at "the root of this complicated villainy" by saying, "I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice."

Therefore the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church was at the beginning positively and unqualifiedly antislavery. Prohibitory rules were adopted very early in its history. The Discipline in 1796 required all official members to emancipate their slaves; whoever bought or sold a slave was liable to expulsion, and a general system of agitation was inaugurated to eradicate "the enormous evil." And in 1800 traveling preachers who might become slave-owners were required to emancipate their slaves or forfeit ministerial character.

The General Conferences of 1796 and 1800 directed the publication of Coke and Asbury's notes on the Discipline, which denounced "the buying and selling of the souls and bodies of men" as a "complicated crime." With this platform on the subject of slavery the Methodist Episcopal Church entered the nineteenth century under the lead of Bishop Asbury, whose recorded prayer for twenty years had been, "O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of slavery from thy dear Zion!"

"The Attitude of the Original Methodist Episcopal Church toward Slavery," is the title of chapter one of the book under

review. It does not contain any of the above facts, dismissing the subject very summarily with the remark that "it would be tedious and irrelevant to give a complete history of the forward and backward movements of the Church in legislating on slavery. Its attitude in 1844 is what now concerns us."

But the "original" Church was not organized in 1844, nor is the attitude of 1844 that of the original Church, and the promise of the caption is not fulfilled in the chapter. For the purpose of special pleading the stand-point chosen is doubtless preferable. It avoids the embarrassment of incongruous antecedents, and furnishes a plausible starting-point for the argument to be constructed. The truth of history, however, and the legitimacy of the conclusions arrived at, demand that the attitude of the Church at the beginning, the changes of attitude, and the forces at work in the South which revolutionized the platform of Methodism, should all be considered. For it came to pass in 1844 that "the South stood upon the accepted platform of the Church on the slavery question, the North took a new departure," as our author states the case.

The original attitude given, the changes of position claim brief notice. In 1804 slavery ceased to be designated, as before, a "crying" evil. Slave-selling was allowed anywhere if approved by a committee. In North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, members were exempt from the rule against slave-selling. 1808. All that related to slave-holding by private members was stricken out of the Discipline. 1812. Annual Conferences were authorized to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves. 1816. The expression, "more than ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," was changed to "as much as ever." 1820. The power given to the Annual Conferences to act against the slave traffic was withheld. 1824. The members were only required to teach their slaves to read, and allow them time to attend public worship. 1828. A slave-holder, Dr. W. Capers, was elected by the General Conference delegate to the British Conference. 1832. James O. Andrew was elected bishop, who said, in 1844, that at the time "no one asked me if I was a slave-holder, no one asked me my principles on the subject, and no one dared to ask a pledge of me, or it would have been met as it deserved." 1836. The General Conference by resolution disap-

proved the conduct of two of its members for attending an antislavery prayer-meeting in Cincinnati, condemned modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaimed "any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding States of this Union." 1840. It was declared by the General Conference "that, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the Church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property in States and Territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

The forces at work to produce the changed attitude indicated above were wholly southern in their locality and character, and included the community outside, the membership of the Church, individual ministers, and the Annual Conferences in the Southern States. And their antagonism was early, and constant, and successful.

Bishop Asbury, in 1780, "spoke to some select friends about slave-keeping, but they could not bear it." In 1785 he says that he "found the minds of the people greatly agitated with our rule against slavery." And in 1798 he was "brought to conclude that slavery will exist in Virginia perhaps for ages." "It appears to me that we can never fully reform the people until we reform the preachers" How well this point was made about preachers will appear as we proceed.

Dr. Capers, in 1844, said of Coke and Asbury's pamphlet on slavery that "Scott never wrote or published a more violent incendiary and disloyal document. Some of the preachers would not circulate them. The excitement arose so high, and the feeling became so deep and general, that it became necessary to expurgate all that related to slavery from the copies of the Discipline that were sent to South Carolina." *

Rev. Gabriel Capers says of this pamphlet, that it "compelled the Legislature of South Carolina to pass a law authorizing any person to repair to Methodist meetings and disperse the negroes, whether assembled with or without permission

* Debate of 1844, reported by L. C. Matlack and L. Lee.

from their owners. It continued in force and with the utmost propriety until the ministers of that denomination ceased to assail the institution of bondage, and ceased to expel their members for buying and selling slaves." *

Rev. S. Dunwody, of South Carolina, at the General Conference of 1844, said that "twenty-four years ago abolition was not heard of, and then (1820) the General Conference said that a slave-holder should hold no official station in the Church. My mind was then made up. I then saw that if it was admitted that slavery is a moral evil we should have no ground to stand upon. I brought Scripture to prove my views that it is not a moral evil in all cases."

Not only were southern communities and individual ministers at the South actively antagonizing the antislavery attitude and testimony of the Church, but Conferences were brought to take similar ground. The action of the General Conference of 1836 was pressed vehemently by southern ministers from Maryland, Missouri, Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, and that action was the first official disclaimer against antislavery agitation. It reversed the position of Methodism wholly, and was followed up by the Annual Conferences.

The Baltimore Conference (1837) declared the purchase or sale of a slave to be no crime, unless attended by circumstances of inhumanity and cruelty.

The Georgia Conference (1838) resolved "that slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil."

The South Carolina Conference (1839) did likewise, Dr. Capers explaining that "if slavery were a moral evil the Church would be bound to take cognizance of it; but our affirmation is that it is not a matter for her jurisdiction, and, of course, not sinful." †

In harmony with such sentiments, leading ministers held slaves and freely spake of it in the public assemblies of the Church. The reviewer heard Dr. Capers refer to his slaves by way of illustration in a missionary speech in 1832. Mr. Crowder, of Virginia, in the General Conference of 1836, talked about the sale of some of his slaves, and of retaining others. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, at the same Conference, declared

* Rev. D. De Vinne, 1844, "Zion's Herald."

† "Methodism and Slavery." Matlack.

that he became a slave-holder on principle, and advocated the great advantage of "members, preachers, presiding elders, and even bishops, being slave-holders." *

The climax of antagonism to the original attitude of the Church toward slavery was reached by the action of the General Conference of 1840. A succession of changes under the management of southern men, extending over a period of forty years, had completely revolutionized the policy and reconstructed the platform of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And the complacency with which the author, on page 18, informs us that "the South sought for no change in the relations of the Church to slavery," is no more remarkable for its presumption, if applied to the year 1844, than it would be glaringly contradictory to the truth if affirmed of the previous forty years. If the quiet acceptance of a slave-holding bishop in 1844 would have been no change of relation to slavery, it would be because, through the seeking and strivings of a whole generation, all desired changes had been secured.

The events immediately preceding and attendant upon the session of the General Conference in 1844 were unprecedented in the history of the Church. The Wesleyan secession occurred the year previous, and this vigorous organization of antislavery Methodists was full of ambition and zeal, constantly on the alert to enlarge their borders, and increase their numbers by accessions from the "Old Church."

To prevent these results the Annual Conferences of the North and the body of the membership took the most vigorous measures for developing the antislavery sentiment of the Church. Our author misapprehends the condition of things when he says that "the movement was arrested; but two small, sickly conventions were held." Instead of that being the case, there were three very large and enthusiastic Conventions held in New England: At Boston, January 18, 1843; Hallowell, Me., February 22; and New Market, N. H., March 8 of the same year. And their declarations of views and purposes were designed to influence the approaching General Conference.

The first affirmed "that slaveholding is sin; that every slaveholder is a sinner, and ought not to be admitted to the pulpit, or the communion; that the Methodist Episcopal

* "Methodism and Slavery." Matlack.

Church is responsible for slavery in its pale; and that nothing short of a speedy and entire separation of slavery from the Church could satisfy the consciences of honest abolitionists, and therefore reformation or division is the only alternative." The second convention declared that, "from a careful collection of documentary evidence, with other well-attested facts, there are within the Methodist Episcopal Church two hundred traveling ministers, holding sixteen hundred slaves; about one thousand local preachers, holding ten thousand; about twenty-five thousand members, holding two hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-three more." The last of these conventions represented, as their conclusion of the whole matter, "that the only way to prevent an entire dissolution among us as a Church is an entire separation from the South;" and a plan was agreed upon for memorializing the General Conference to divide the Church north and south, or set off the New England Conferences by themselves."

When the General Conference assembled the elements of discord were not diminished by the fact that Bishop James O. Andrew admitted that he had been a slave-holder for several years. Why it should have been unknown so long, or why our author is so much offended at the one whom he supposes gave the first information of this fact, is not explained. But this fact became at once the great difficulty, being joined to the united support and defense of the bishop by almost the entire southern delegation.

Our author discusses extensively collateral issues respecting law, constitutional power, relations of the bishops, and the like, which are not essential to the facts we need to know, but rather serve to hide them. What concerns us, in canvassing the relations of the two Methodisms, is the action of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew, and the action consequent thereon.

Preliminary and prophetic was the vote on the appeal of Rev. F. A. Harding *versus* the Baltimore Conference, which had suspended him from the ministry for refusing to manumit his slaves, but was sustained by one hundred and seventeen yeas to fifty-six nays in the General Conference.

The action in Bishop Andrew's case was, first, a report from the Committee on Episcopacy, giving his written statement of

the facts. Then followed a resolution which "affectionately requested" him to resign his office, which was substituted by another, which declared, "That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains." The discussion continued ten days, when this resolution was adopted by one hundred and eleven yeas to sixty-nine nays.

A declaration was presented three days afterward from the southern and south-western Conferences, signed by fifty-two delegates, which referred to the "agitation of the subject of slavery in a portion of the Church, the frequent action on that subject by the General Conference, and especially the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew," and stated that "a continuance of the jurisdiction of the General Conference over these Conferences is inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States." This impeachment of "jurisdiction" was followed the next day with a protest, which was more direct and indignant in its tone, and stigmatized the action of the Conference as "an attempt to degrade and punish; a lawless prosecution; an illegal arrest; an anomalous quasi-suspension, imperative and mandatory in form," and closed by saying, "The South cannot submit, and the absolute necessity of division is already dated."

The General Conference, however, in effect, if not by design, answered the cavils of the protest by resolutions providing "That Bishop Andrew's name stand in the Minutes, Hymn Book, and Discipline, as formerly; that the rule in relation to the support of a bishop and his family applies to Bishop Andrew; that whether in any, and if any, in what work, Bishop Andrew be employed, is to be determined by his own decision and action, in relation to the previous action of this Conference in his case." And a special committee reported a statement, which was adopted, declaring that "The action of the General Conference was neither judicial nor punitive. It neither achieves a deposition nor so much as a legal suspension. Bishop Andrew is still a bishop, and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid."

Notwithstanding the unqualified disclaimers of the Conference, the southern delegates moved on directly toward the

disruption of jurisdiction suggested, and the "antedated division," named in their Declaration and Protest. Dr. Capers offered a proposition providing for the jurisdiction in partnership, which was, after brief consideration, withdrawn. Rev. J. B. M'Ferrin offered a resolution of instruction to the Committee of Nine, which had in their hands the southern declaration, "to devise a constitutional plan for division, mutual and friendly."

This committee, Dr. Paine, of Tennessee, chairman, presented a report, which very considerately and kindly said, "We esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity." And a plan was presented by them for adoption, to be adhered to "in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable." This plan indicated a boundary line; provided for border conferences, stations, and societies choosing their position; recommended to the Annual Conferences a change of the sixth Restrictive Rule; provided contingently for the division of the stock and assets of the Book Concern; and resolved, "That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, conference funds, cemeteries, and of every kind within the limits of the southern organization, shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises."

All these provisions were conditioned upon the occurrence of a state of things indicated thus: "Should the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical organization." Dr. Paine, speaking for the South, said: "If found necessary to keep down faction and prosecute their ministry at home they should feel bound to separate—to carry out the provisions of this enactment—but not unless driven to it." "They should be one people until it was formally announced by a convention of the southern Churches that they had resolved to ask an organization according to the provisions of this report."

Such was the attitude and relation of the parties to this great question, when, at midnight, June 10, 1844, the General Conference adjourned *sine die*. So spake the conference of

its willingness to meet the contingency equitably and kindly. And so said they of the South, of their purposes and method of proceeding. No such scene had ever been witnessed as was exhibited in that highest tribunal of the Church. No such record of magnanimity, gentleness, and generous dealing finds a place in ecclesiastical history.

The morning after the adjournment—unexpectedly to all others—found the southern delegates in session, as a convention, in New York city. They proceeded to assume the initiative of separation, which prerogative had been specifically assigned to their Annual Conferences. A delegated convention was appointed to meet at Louisville, Ky., May 1, 1845, the ratio of representation was fixed, and an address was issued to the ministers and members of the southern States and Territories. This address declared that it was now evident "that the legislative, judicial, and administrative action of the General Conference, as now organized, will always be extremely hurtful, if not ruinous, to the southern portion of the Church." "And that, unless the South will submit to the dictation and interference of the North, there is no hope of any thing like union and harmony." Many other softer words were employed; but these brief quotations give the key-note of the movement which precipitated the issue, and made separation a certainty. And thus the plan proposed by the General Conference and accepted by the southern delegates was virtually set aside within three days after its adoption. It exhibited, moreover, an impatience of restraint, although self-imposed, and a disregard of obligation, expressed or implied, which should modify our author's lavish and unqualified complaints against others of a want of good faith and covenant-keeping. But there is a common liability of encountering "beams" in our sharp look out for "motes," and we need to have charity. Judging from the many motes which he seems to see so clearly in northern eyes, he may have first cast the beam out of his own eye.

To illustrate this, and give the contrary view obtained from opposite stand-points, the author's observations upon the men and measures of the General Conference of 1844 may be cited. A few expressions will be sufficient. The New England Conference delegates are charged with a "conspiracy," which pre-

vented union and harmony. Dr. Hamline's masterly argument is "as sophistical as it is eloquent." And his view of the supremacy of the General Conference, judicially, is "so monstrous a document, that it reduces that of the Star-chamber to a mere *bagatelle*." The resolution declaring the "sense" of the General Conference is "a tangled mass of ideas contradictory to law, interpolative of law, and violative of precedent under law." The aim of the northern delegates is stated thus: "They saw the result, and intended to force the South to depart." The caption of the sixth chapter is, "A Division of the Church declared Inevitable before the Finley Resolution was passed, and the Result was intended." Another chapter is headed, "The Perversions of Law by the General Conference of 1844." And the final result of its proceedings is said to be productive only of "bitter recollections of wrong doing left as a heritage to coming generations."

With such a view of the men and measures of the General Conference, the subsequent action of the South was quite in harmony. The Annual Conferences of the Southern States, below Delaware and Maryland, accepted the programme of the New York Convention, recognized its authority, and thereby virtually united with it in ignoring the plan adopted at the General Conference—by a majority so near to unanimity—which had generously provided for a deplored contingency. And that majority would have been very much less but for the hope many of them entertained, that the necessity for a separate organization might not be found to exist. One of that majority, who, since 1844, has been placed in the highest office of the Church, said to the reviewer recently that he and many others accepted the statement of the southern delegates, that this action of the Conference would be an "olive branch" with which they might be able to allay the excitement among their people and prevent disruption.

The events of the quadrennium following the General Conference of 1844 are now to be carefully traced.

The LOUISVILLE CONVENTION, May 17, 1875, by a vote of ninety-four to three, declared that "a separate ecclesiastical connection in the Southern States is an urgent necessity;" and that "the jurisdiction hitherto exercised" over the Annual Conferences represented therein was "entirely dissolved." A

separate body was constituted, known as "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

Meanwhile the proposed *change of the sixth Restrictive Rule necessary to the property division* was being submitted to all the Annual Conferences. The whole number of votes cast was three thousand two hundred and five. Three fourths of these would be two thousand four hundred and four. The affirmative vote, however, was only two thousand one hundred and thirty-five, which lacked two hundred and sixty-nine votes of the number required. The negative vote was one thousand and seventy.

The opposition of more than one thousand traveling preachers was largely increased before the ensuing General Conference, as was manifest by the election of delegates thereto. Only forty-one who were members in 1844 were re-elected to the Conference of 1848, and of these, eleven had voted against the Plan. Various influences combined to effect this change of views and reconstruction of the General Conference. Opposition, upon conscientious and constitutional grounds, to the sanction given to the desire of the South for separation, very generally prevailed outside of the Conference of 1844. The unauthorized precipitation of the New York Convention of southern delegates was regarded as almost, if not actually, a repudiation of the Plan by those who had favored it. The *disregard of the boundary line by the South*, and the consequent strife and invasions of northern territory, were equally damaging to the Plan, and operated to destroy its integrity in the minds of yet others.

This last-named aggression assumed a grave character quite early. The Church South gave out in 1846 an official construction of the mode of determining the boundary line, which enlarged the territory indefinitely, by providing that the circuits on the border adhering, then—"They transfer the boundary line to the next tier adjoining, which thus become a line of border societies, and they may in time, by a similar action, transmit the border relation, and the provisional rights and privileges to those immediately beyond them."

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1847, therefore found it necessary to check encroachment upon their territory by restating the original import of the border ques-

tion, and by naming also localities within three conferences of the North, which had been invaded, where they insist on maintaining jurisdiction. And the bishops of the Church South, by published letters and appeals, were as positive in claiming all the territory within all the slave-holding States and Territories, including portions of the Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Ohio, and Philadelphia Conferences.

The consequence was that the field of strife became indefinitely extended, and the excitement was pushed to the climax of mob violence, sometimes through the denunciation of northern preachers, by the preachers of the Church South, as "abolitionists, incendiaries, revolutionists, and traitors." Even the Southern Methodist press stigmatized the Methodist Episcopal Church as an "abolition Church," and declared its jurisdiction anywhere in the slave-holding States to be "an enormity that enlightened public sentiment cannot and will not tolerate."

The border-strife was originated in 1845. The Louisville Convention then provided that "any portion of an Annual Conference not represented in this convention" might elect delegates to the General Conference of 1846. This was succeeded by the exercise of jurisdiction within the limits of Annual Conferences not represented in the convention, nor recognized by the Plan. And then all this was fully indorsed by special action by the southern General Conference of 1846. The extent of the difficulties thus originated was given in detail by the bishops of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, and references furnished for sources of information respecting other instances of like character. And all these facts were known prior to the assembling of the Conference at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Add to the facts of a non-concurring vote of the Annual Conferences, and this southern disregard of boundary lines, the remarkable fact, further, that there stood at the door of the Pittsburgh General Conference commissioners from the Church, South, with authority "to adjust and settle all matters pertaining to the division of the Church property and funds, as provided for in the Plan of Separation," and we have a peculiar complication of matters. The southern commissioner had nothing to do with restoring the true line; he only came to

claim money. The Conference had no power to grant the property, but had a full right to act upon the broken boundary.

The Conference wisely discriminated, and kindly expressed itself in the action upon the fraternal letter presented by Dr. Lovick Pierce, who represented the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and proposed to establish fraternal relations between the two bodies. "The Church South," he said, "sincerely desire that the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists, North and South, should maintain at all times a warm, confiding, and brotherly fraternal relation to each other."

Bishop Hedding, at the opening of the Conference, had expressed himself "deeply concerned because they had great questions before them—as great as they ever had—perhaps greater than they ever had." His solicitude was responded to the first day by the appointment of a committee of forty-six on the state of the Church, being two from each delegation. To this committee Dr. Pierce's letter was referred. It was replied to the second day afterward as follows:—

Whereas, There are serious questions and difficulties existing between the two bodies; therefore,

Resolved, That while we tender to the Rev. L. Pierce, D. D., all personal courtesies, and invite him to attend our sessions, this General Conference does not consider it proper, at present, to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; provided that nothing in this resolution shall be so construed as to operate as a bar to any proposition from Dr. Pierce, or any other representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, toward the settlement of existing difficulties between that body and this.

The "existing difficulties" were, of course, the southern violation of the boundary line and faithless invasion of northern territories.

The following day Dr. Pierce was invited to a seat within the bar. He acknowledged the courtesy as extended to him on account of "private and personal merit," which considerations, he said, "I shall appreciate, and will reciprocate them with you in all the private walks of Christian and social life. But within the bar of the General Conference I can only be known in my official character."

The unofficial and purely Christian fraternity, which all really possessed, was spontaneously exhibited on the following

Sabbath day, and reported in "The Daily Advocate" of May 9, 1848:—

> At the close of the sermon the venerable Bishop Hedding descended from the pulpit and affectionately invited Bishop Soule, who was in the congregation, to kneel with him at the sacramental table. All differences were forgotten, and we felt, indeed, that we were come in spirit "unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Bishop Hedding gave vent to the deep emotions of his soul in expressions of heavenly joy. The first two tables were occupied by preachers, among whom we rejoiced to see Dr. Pierce, of Georgia.

Our author sees only offensive and trifling conduct in the treatment of Dr. Pierce. He affects an examination of reasons for his not being received, and looks up the expressions of two individuals, uttered outside of the Conference and after the close of its session, in which he finds only occasion to exclaim, "O for shame!" He also ignores the reason given by the Conference, and declares that "there were no difficulties known in any official way to the Petersburgh General Conference, unless as to the property question." And then he dismisses this matter in a single page of comments.

Upon the correctness of this declaration depends the justification of the Conference and the reliability of the author. The Conference affirms and he denies. What are the facts? Was it not known to the Petersburgh General Conference that questions and difficulties existed about the border territory and property? Had not that body canvassed and vindicated its own bishop's action in reference thereto? Was not the non-concurrence of the Annual Conferences known unofficially before its session convened? And had not their unseemly haste at the New York Convention, and their partisan zeal and even violent activity afterward, given rise to questions involving the integrity of the Plan, which were matters of discussion by the press of both Churches? If part of these things was unknown "officially," did that cancel the fact that questions and difficulties existed between the two bodies?

The statement of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was strictly true, and the facts afforded a legitimate reason for not receiving Dr. Pierce as a fraternal messenger from the Church South. While the declaration of the author of "Disruption" is evasive, if not a positive mis-

statement of the facts, "serious questions and difficulties" existed, which were far too serious for trifling quillets from an outside view, and too difficult for a hasty solution by those having to grapple with them.

The GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1848 was just now entering upon a consideration of these matters, which occupied almost the entire month of May, before satisfactory conclusions were reached. The report of the Committee on the State of the Churchwas discussed freely and adopted with great unanimity, a very few dissenting. In a vote of one hundred and forty-three, sometimes one dissented, and never more than sixteen, on any of the several Declarations.

The first Declaration merely stated a principle which scarcely differs from what all agreed to in 1844, "that there exists no power in the General Conference to effectuate, authorize, or sanction a division of the Church."

The second Declaration affirmed the inability of the right of Church membership, "unless guilty of the violation of its rules." A self-evident proposition this.

The third Declaration set forth the universal right of trial and appeal, declaring, also, that separation from the Church otherwise contravenes constitutional rights.

The fourth Declaration stated the character, contingency, and conditions of the provisional plan, with sundry contraventions thereof and the consequence. These points are embraced in EIGHT specific items.

1. The Plan was intended to meet a necessity which it was alleged might arise, and was given as a peace-offering, to secure harmony on our southern border.

2. A part of its regulations were made dependent upon the concurrence of three fourths of all the members of the Annual Conferences.

3. It was made dependent, also, upon the observance of certain provisions respecting a boundary, by the distinct ecclesiastical connection separating from us.

4. Without waiting for the occurrence of the anticipated necessity, action was taken in the premises by the Southern delegates.

5. The Annual Conferences have refused to concur with that part of the Plan submitted to them. Their votes officially received so testify.

6. *The provisions respecting a boundary have been violated by the highest authorities of said connection, which separated from us,* and thereby the peace and harmony of many of the Societies of our southern border have been destroyed.

7. No obligation exists on the part of this Conference to observe the provisions of said Plan, in view of the facts and principles in these declarations.

8. Therefore the Plan is hereby declared null and void.

The argument in support of the conclusion reached was elaborated in a report afterward adopted. The points therein set forth, and the sequences following, rather than a reproduction of the argument, is sufficient in this review.

The original and exclusive responsibility for the thought of separate jurisdiction, and the necessity for a division of the Church, was found in the Southern Declaration and Protest. Official recognition of neither was obtained by the Southern delegates. Persisting in the declaration that the doings of the General Conference would produce a condition of things that might demand separation, they obtained a provisional plan, with which to meet the dreaded southern necessity. It was not, however, an unqualified consent to their separation, but conditional. That is, if the apprehended state of things in the South was really produced by the doings of the General Conference; and, if the concurrence of the Annual Conferences was secured, allowing the division of Book Concern and Chartered Fund; and, if the southern Annual Conferences should judge a separate organization necessary.

Corroborative of this, Dr. Paine's words were quoted. He said, "The separation would not be effected by the passage of these resolutions through the General Conference. They must pass the Annual Conferences, beginning at New York; and when they came round to the South, the preachers there would think, and deliberate, and feel the pulse of public sentiment and of the members of the Church, and act in the fear of God and with a single desire for his glory." And in reference to beginning this vote in 1845, Dr. Paine objected, that "thus two years would elapse before the South would know whether they had leave peacefully to separate." It was, therefore, begun at once without leave.

The order of procedure indicated and accepted was clearly

this: Discover first the state of things produced at the South; await the action of the Annual Conferences; ascertain whether they had leave peacefully to separate; thoughtful and deliberate consultation by the preachers in the South; careful feeling of the pulse of public sentiment; and, finally, action in the fear of God, and with a single desire for his glory, on the part of the southern Annual Conferences. And such a procedure would be in harmony with the "Plan," as presented by the General Conference, and as accepted by the southern delegates.

Bnt this course was not pursued. Instead of the Plan agreed upon, a new one was adopted. Ignoring the antecedent developments—the primary action of the Conferences—the consultation thereon—the careful pulse-feeling, and final God-fearing action—an immediate call for a convention was issued, and an appeal made which was designed and well adapted to precipitate inevitably what was regarded as only a probable contingency. Thus did the southern delegates in one day, after the General Conference adjourned, decide the question, which it was expected would be under consideration for one or two years. The language of their Appeal was severe and inflammatory in its allusions to "the majority," whose "proscription of the southern portion of the Church" and "oppressive jurisdiction" are characterized as "extremely hurtful, if not finally ruinous." And nothing remained for the South but submission to "the dictation and interference of the North," or separation, according to the argument of the Appeal.

The committee, whose argument in brief is here given, designate this action as "revolutionary," in contravention of the "Plan," "reducing it to a nullity by the violation of its first great and fundamental condition;" "and was AN ABANDONMENT OF THE PLAN PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL CONFERNCE." "And hence, that, for the reason above alleged, the Plan has been of no real force since the date of said call and address, namely, Jnne 11, 1844." And so, too, thought the General Conference of 1848 by nnanimonsly adopting the report.

Art. VII.—THE HYMN BOOK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

During the past few years much has been said and written concerning the adaptation of our standard Hymn Book to the wants of the Church, and at the last General Conference a committee reported substantially in favor of an immediate revision. The Conference, however, took no action on the subject. Since that time the interest in the question has greatly increased, and the denominational organs, both editorially and through their correspondents, have given it much attention. Meanwhile, the number of independent books, some very small and others quite large, some with music and others without, some compiled by local Churches for their own use, and others published for general circulation, have been introduced. The Book Concern itself has entered into competition with the standard Hymn Book, publishing the "Lesser Hymnal," professedly adapted both for public worship and social meetings. In this book constant reference is made to an independent book which had been widely circulated; so that a person going to a Methodist Episcopal Church is no longer certain what book to take with him, because he cannot be sure what he will find in use. It is plain, therefore, that the subject must receive serious attention at the next General Conference, and is worthy of careful examination.

Perhaps nothing is more obvious than the proposition, that to insure just views of a subject it is necessary to perceive clearly the primary end to be reached by the means or machinery under consideration. But it is a fact, observed by all who trace the origin and progress of opinions, that very few take the pains to unearth the root idea before attempting to form a judgment concerning adaptations. Hence the many give their opinions of parts without regard to the whole, or of adjustments considered entirely with respect to their own personal tastes and requirements. And from this arise the confusion and discord in the ideas expressed on many topics of great and general interest; and especially on this question of the nature and size of the standard hymn book required by the Church.

What is going on in the Methodist Episcopal Church has

happened in every branch of Christendom, (except the Society of Friends, who do not use hymns,) and will continue to agitate the denominations at intervals until the end of time. But there is only one method whereby the Church can be harmonized or harmony approximated by evolving the sentiment of the majority; and that is, by elucidating the primary object or objects of an authorized collection of hymns. These having been apprehended by the Church, there will be a crystallizing of sentiment, *pro* or *con*, as to revision and its modes, and the result will determine action.

I. The Object of a Church Hymn Book.

The use of hymns by Christians is not confined to the great congregations on the Sabbath day. There are devotional meetings in the midst of the week—large prayer-meetings, class-meetings, inquiry meetings, special revival services, love-feasts, vigils, funeral obsequies, many semi-devotional assemblies in the interest of temperance, education, patriotism, benevolent institutions, etc. Besides these demands for appropriate hymns, singing is an important feature in family worship, and is, at present, the leading element in Sunday-school exercises, while a large part of devotional reading consists of hymns and brief religious poems. From such diverse materials it is not an easy matter to distill the definition which we seek. Yet it is clear that the purpose of hymns, and so of the hymn book, eliminated from incidental influences, is to enkindle, to stimulate, to guide, and to express religious feeling. Hence there must be hymns of praise, of thanksgiving, of aspiration, of penitence, of adoration, and of prayer. Nor should hymns of confession be altogether excluded. But the hymn cannot consist of exclamations, or rhythmical interjections. There must be a foundation of thought on which the structure rests, or rather every word in the hymn should be the expression of a thought. The plan of salvation must be described, not indeed technically or didactically, but in outline, for it is by these truths that the pious soul is quickened and directed. The Christian graces "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith," etc., may be delineated, and praise to God for his condescension in bestowing these "fruits of the Spirit," and prayer for their immediate communication, may blend with

such descriptions. And there may be use for a few hortatory and admonitory hymns, which, though stigmatized as "preaching hymns," have produced, both in the reading and the singing, marked and salutary effects.

It is not necessary that every hymn should be confined to one emotion. Often praise, thanksgiving, aspiration, petition, and penitential confession are united in the same psalm, but usually one special state of feeling gives tone and color to the entire composition by which it is readily recognized and classified. But the social meetings of the Church admit, nay, even require a different style of hymns from that naturally employed in the more stately services of the sanctuary; and an intensity in song no less than in speech is begotten and demanded in a time of revival which would be incongruous with a period of quietness, while the Sabbath-school needs and *will* have something peculiarly its own. It would be an error to close this branch of the inquiry here; for the standard Hymn Book, next to the Bible, furnishes the greater part of the people with their religious and devotional reading. This has been the case, and unless we should lose our hold upon the common people, will continue to be true of the Methodist Episcopal Church for many generations. Hence the standard Hymn Book should contain considerable matter adapted to serve this important end. And it will be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make the utility of hymns in public worship the *sole* test of their fitness for a place in the Church Hymn Book. Some compositions not primarily and precisely meeting the requirements of public or social worship must be admitted, although what is absolutely contrary to the predominant spirit of the book should be rejected. It is also certain that the character of the hymns read and sung by a denomination greatly influences the imagination and the language of those who use them, furnishing much of their religious vocabulary, and stamping peculiar forms of expression upon them. How often in prayer and revival meetings are the exhortations, testimonies, and supplications made up almost wholly of passages of the Scriptures and parts of hymns. Not only are entire lines and verses of these "spiritual songs" quoted, but in the very body of extemporaneous prose speech, substantives followed by an adjective, and verbs conjoined with an adverb, just as they are

found in the hymns, give a turn to an expression, the speaker being unaware of the help which he is deriving from the hymn book. The hymns of Methodism have contributed as much to the fluency and fullness of the language employed by its ministers and members as all other causes apart from the inward experience combined. Wherefore it is essential that the figures employed in hymns, and the language of which they consist, should be examined, and none which can deprave the imagination or debase the language of the Church admitted.

Again, the hymn book must be an embodiment of doctrine, in all particulars in which doctrine is connected with religious emotion. To contradict the teachings of the "Confessions of Faith" and the Catechisms in the hymns is an effectual way to change the sentiments of the people. The gradual disuse of the more pronounced Calvinistic hymns in the Calvinistic Churches is both an effect and a cause of the disfavor with which their more rigid tenets are now held by many of their people, and, in the judgment of the writer, it is among the potent causes of indifference to, and unbelief of, those predestinarian doctrines. If the hymns all celebrate free grace and human freedom, the preaching will either gradually become assimilated to the hymns or will fail to counterwork them. Hence, the doctrines taught in hymns to be used by the Church should be scrutinized. This is especially necessary, as poetry is of all the forms of speech most easily remembered. As the holy Catholic Church is now divided into sects, and as unnecessary divisions are undesirable, it is reasonable to suppose that every denomination has a spirit, as well as doctrines and usages, peculiar to itself, and the hymns which the people sing should naturally express that spirit. I do not mean that every hymn should be recognizable as of Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Episcopalian origin, but that the collection as a whole should express the spirit of the body for whose use it is designed.

II. The Standard Hymn Book Must Contain a Great Variety.

So far as the Sabbath-school is concerned, the fact must be recognized that it is impossible to furnish the kind and the quantity of hymns in the Church collection for which the present development of the institution calls; and if it were pos-

sible, the frequent changes demanded could not be incorporated into the standard book. Also, it would be unnecessary and expensive to burden the schools with the entire compilation. Still, regard must be had to the wants of certain schools, and in the aggregate a large number, which have no Sabbath-school music and are dependent on the regular book. A small number of appropriate hymns must be provided, so that it will be possible to use the hymn book if nothing else is at hand. And as sermons are, or should be, often preached to children and schools in the regular service, it is important to have suitable hymns for such occasions.

In the department of prayer and class-meetings a great variety is needful. It is true that we are in the dispensation of "ditties," and that most of these cannot stand alone when printed without the music, being rather like well-dressed but deformed children, that look well enough when seated in a pretty carriage, but drop into a shapeless mass when unsupported; for, though most of these productions sound well when sung with spirit, they reveal their poverty when their words are weighed. It would not be wise to print such in the standard Hymn Book, but a great variety of the best compositions must be given, that this department may furnish substance and nourishing food to the growing children of God, while the multitudes amuse themselves with the "sound and fury signifying nothing," just now so popular. This remark is not directed against really meritorious pieces of recent origin, but against a class of so-called religious hymns which threaten to crowd out every thing elevating, and which bear the same relation to genuine hymns that the flimsiest novels do to instructive reading. The avidity with which these sensuous and crude effusions are called for is a melancholy symptom of the enfeebled intellectual and spiritual digestion of the Church. Paul complained that they called for meat when they needed milk. No such charge can lie against multitudes in our day who call not for meat, nor yet milk, but for water with a drop or two of flavoring extract.

For closet and family devotion special adaptations are necessary. When we estimate the number of the aged and the sick who are debarred from the house of God, it is at once apparent that there should be "many hymns and spiritual

songs," in which they can "speak to themselves" and to God. Nor can the great congregation be expected to maintain a lively interest in a few hymns, if confined exclusively to them; but variety is as essential here as in the subjects and matter of sermons, or in the Scripture readings. It should be kept steadily in view that this book is not to be used by a select few of any class whatever. As "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation," so no hymn of the general collection should be brought in to gratify a single individual or a "few minds of peculiar structure." But as human nature, considered intellectually and with regard to feeling and taste, appears under twelve, or perhaps thirteen, distinct types, there should be an abundant supply of every endurable quality, so that the principle of selection may not be too restricted in operation. There are many subjects to be presented, and accordingly there must be hymns appropriate to many themes and the most dissimilar occasions.

Still another demand for variety inheres in the fact that certain subjects have to be brought forward very frequently, however wearisome to the majority of the worshipers it may become. I mean repentance, and the motives to it; faith, and the supports and comforts of it; adoption and assurance, regeneration, and the evidences; sanctification, and the means and effects of it; the flight of time, the rest of the faithful, the doom of sinners, the chastenings of the Lord and his sustaining grace, as well as the cry of the soul for light. By this necessity the demand is created for many hymns, which, like a melody with skillful and natural variations, shall be the same, yet not the same. Is it not obvious that under these diverse and often conflicting requisitions no Procrustean standard can be adopted to determine the admissibility of hymns? Yet there are general principles. A hymn should be correct in its language and true in doctrine. It should be chaste in expression, not repelling the reverent from its use. It should be elevating in its tendency, and, whenever possible, hallowed by its associations.

The last-mentioned principle may require the admission of hymns, which, without these associations, could not claim a place. No revision committee could unite in excluding

"There is a fountain filled with blood,"

yet the imagery from the time of the publication of the hymn has been justly condemned as elaborately sanguineous. In the Appendix to the American edition of Southey's "Life of Wesley" the following passage occurs:—

In one of John Wesley's translations from the German we trace the Moravian original in the line,

"*To dwell within thy wounds.*"

On the same grounds I have felt to object to that otherwise excellent hymn of Cowper's, beginning

"There is a fountain filled with *blood*,
Drawn from Immanuel's *veins*." *

But where a hymn has done as much good as this, the associations will carry it where, on critical grounds, it could never be admitted. There should be a decided preponderance of general hymns, such as are sung by all Christians over those of denominational origin and spirit, yet of these there must be a due proportion. Ancient hymns, and those composed by Christians of other communions, when of genuine merit should be introduced in considerable numbers, not, however, to the exclusion of those of what may be termed indigenous growth. Some religious poems, hardly capable of being sung, or perhaps not appropriate more than once in a life-time for public use, may be allowed for their extraordinary merit or for their history, such as,—

"Come, O thou Traveler unknown."

But the number of these must be limited and the selections carefully made.

III. The Question of Size.

The standard Hymn Book should not be so large as to be clumsy, or too expensive for general distribution; but it should be as large as *possible* under these restrictions. This is a necessary conclusion from what has been set forth. It must be remembered that, like the Bible, the Hymn Book comprises many books in one, that it is to be extensively and frequently used by persons of every variety of taste and degree of culture, and that frequent revision, a great evil and a burdensome expense,

* Note by American Editor.

can be avoided only by an abundant variety. The older denominations as well as the newer have experimented on this question, and the results are instructive and should be practically controlling.

The Protestant Episcopal Hymnal contains	520
Psalms and Hymns, Reformed (Dutch) Church	802
Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Church	1,024
The Songs of the Sanctuary, the most popular Hymn and Tune Book ever published	1,342
The Plymouth Collection, besides 26 doxologies	1,374
The Baptist Praise Book, besides chants	1,311
The General Assembly, 14 doxologies	792
The Presbyterian Hymnal, 16 doxologies	972
Baptist Psalmist, 14 doxologies	1,296
Wesleyan Hymn Book in Wesley's time	540
Wesleyan Hymn Book since Wesley's time	769
Southern Methodist Hymn Book	1,063
Methodist Episcopal Hymn Book	1,148

Including the Episcopalians, who have no prayer-meeting in the ordinary sense of the phrase, the average is 1,035; excluding them, it is 1,088. When we remember that among the Methodists singing makes so great a part of every service, it is clear that we ought not to fall below the average. Reasoning both from the ends designed to be served, and the experience of the denominations, the conclusion is warranted that anything less than 1,000 is too small, and when 1,200 is exceeded the book becomes too large. But there is a loud and persistent, though not a general, cry for a small hymn book. In some cases this arises from a want of thought similar to that of a man beginning a journey in this climate on a warm day in winter, who makes no provision for a great and sudden change. He wants but little to-day, but he will soon need something more and different. So some look at the question from the point of view of the prayer-meeting alone, others from that of the Sunday-school exclusively, others from that of the Church service only; and most forget all the private uses to which the book will be put by pious readers.

It has been said that not more than two or three hundred hymns are used in public worship. This generalization cannot be made from the habits of fifty or even a hundred ministers, or from the mere recollection or imperfect notes of men

of what hymns they have employed in a long ministry. Many ministers move in ruts. The celebrated Dr. Beman, of Troy, used in a ministry of forty years less than one hundred and twenty-five hymns. This is a great evil, and was complained of by his parishioners. If nine tenths of the clergy employ only three hundred hymns, that is not a reason for restricting the remaining tenth to that number, or for so constructing the book as to compel the use of those hymns. Three hundred different passages of Scripture will include all that nine tenths of the ministers have ever read in public; but every one of them requires the entire range of the sacred text. The writer has employed more than six hundred and fifty of the hymns of the Methodist collection, and is still finding new and beautiful hymns that "never struck him so before."

The same remark holds with some force of hymns in difficult meters. Some of these hymns are historic, and should be printed where all the people can read them; others are valuable as magnificent embodiments of our doctrines, and others would be sung with delight by the people if it were not for the slavery under which first-rate and fifth-rate choirs keep both pastor and people. Now the slavery of a first rate choir is on this wise. The minister feels his inferiority, and so announces only what the choir like to sing. But the slavery of a fifth-rate choir is different, for they confess their inferiority, so that the minister must not announce any thing which they cannot sing. But when the minister previously apprises the chorister of the hymns to be sung, the first-rate choir can and should find a tune for it, and the fifth-rate choir should have, if necessary, two weeks' notice, and the congregation a little practice.

Careful observation has convinced the writer that an average city or village congregation, led by a good choir, organ, precentor, or cornet, can be safely trusted to sing respectably any one of a hundred and ten tunes. And these include tunes for L. M., C. M., and S. M., double and single; and the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 26th, and 27th particular meters. And there are very few hymns which these meters do not cover in the Methodist Hymn Book. We maintain, therefore, that the reasons assigned for a book containing less than a thousand hymns are not valid, and that the necessities of the case call for at least that number.

IV. SHOULD THE METHODIST HYMN BOOK NOW BE REVISED?

In May, 1849, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church addressed their flock on this subject, and continue to do so in every copy of the Hymn Book now published, as follows:—

"Although we reluctantly part with some of the familiar hymns of the old book, and though, perhaps, in the judgment of some, they have not, in every instance, been substituted by hymns of greater merit, yet we can confidently approve this Revised Copy. . . . We congratulate you, brethren, on having such a book as, from the number, variety, and adaptation of its hymns, will not require another revision for generations to come."

Only twenty-seven years will have elapsed at the assembling of the next General Conference since this episcopal indorsement was first put forth. The question is, Were the bishops in error? When the motion was made in the General Conference, in 1872, for a committee of revision, the writer of this article strenuously opposed it, and among his reasons for this course were the following: "The mind of the Church had not been sufficiently ascertained. And without the general wish of the people it would be unjust to destroy or diminish the value of the half million or more of dollars which, on the authority of the General Conference and the recommendation of the bishops, they have invested in hymn books not to need revision 'for generations to come.'" The matter was brought forward at a time when it could not receive due attention from the Conference. The publishing house at New York had passed through great difficulties, and a total change in its management was anticipated. Such an undertaking should be entered upon with the greatest caution. Precipitancy in urging a new book upon the people before the want was felt, or an immature and unsatisfactory result after the want should be felt, would be a greater evil than any which we now endure.

Some of these considerations have lost their force. Having closely watched the line of discussion for the past four years, I incline to the opinion that a powerful movement to revise the book will be made at the next General Conference. After much deliberation it seems to be that, if the demand should be very general—(otherwise not)—it should be conceded. The book is not much too large, though the price is. But there is a great deal of matter in the book which should

not be there. At the risk of arousing defenders of every hymn criticiser, the writer would suggest that No. 74 has no merit but antiquity, and that No. 75 is not required by any of the conditions of a standard hymn book. The last line of the third verse in No. 104, as well as its general style, remove it from both public and private use. Is No. 139 needed, and is it not objectionable? How was No. 153 admitted, and who first called the second verse poetry? Was No. 250 merely put in to fill the vacant space at the bottom of the page? There are ten hymns on baptism, and eight of them refer specifically to infants. Hymn No. 258 teaches baptismal regeneration, and calls the infants "unconscious lepers!" No. 269 fills out the page with matter less edifying than pure white paper. Will No. 305 bear inspection from any point of view, except the soundness of its doctrine? Are the last two verses of No. 359 in the spirit of our preaching, or, as we believe, of the Gospel? Is the "humble sinner" to come with "perhaps" growing more doubtful upon his lips and in his heart? No. 361 seems ill adapted in style to those for whom, according to the classification, it is designed. I have often read No. 535, and wondered on just what ground it was admitted. While No. 560 is a proper representation of certain dialogues between Moses and Jehovah, as recorded in the Old Testament, is it in harmony with the spirit of the New Testament supplication? If we employ No. 643 we must address the Infinite thus:—

"Soon as the morn with roses
Bedecks the dewy east,
And when the sun reposes
Upon the ocean's breast;
Our voice in supplication
Jehovah, thou shalt hear."

I invite attention to No. 656, in some respects a grand birthday hymn, but defaced by these lines:—

"A clod of living earth,"

"Like Moses, to thyself convey,
And *kiss* my raptured soul away."

Is No. 691 true to nature in regard to the thought which it is designed to illustrate, and does it rise to the standard as a hymn

celebrating Christian unity? No. 709 is too didactic and formal, and not sufficiently tender to express the welcome of the Church to those who are in the Scriptures called lambs of the flock. Will the heart of the bereaved hearer or reader be reached by No. 773? No. 873 cannot have been properly tested before being passed. No. 938, no doubt, charms some, but surely but very few, and probably has not been sung or committed to memory for religious purposes in thirty years. Considering where No. 1011 is placed, it seems redundant and vain. No. 1067 does not produce a solemn impression, being too brief for either singing or reading. It simply fills out page 640. Nos. 1087 and 1088 are on subjects too intimately connected with sorrow to be subjected to analysis here. It is sufficient to ask the thoughtful minister or layman to read them carefully, remembering the kind of melody to which hymns in that measure will naturally be sung.

I am aware that many of the hymns here criticised were written by Charles Wesley and by Montgomery. But we know that the poetic afflatus is as inconstant as the wind, and that the poet himself, even if he be a true poet, often disagrees with the rest of the world as to the merits of a particular effusion. For example, take one of Dr. Watts' hymns, the third verse of which is one of the finest he ever wrote. We omit the first two verses:—

"3 Our life contains a thousand springs,
And dies if one be gone;
Strange that a harp of thousand strings
Should keep in tune so long.

4 But 'tis our God supports our frame,
Our God who built us at the first;
Salvation to the Almighty Name
That reared us from the dust!

5 He spake, and straight our hearts and brains
With all their motions rose;
Let blood (said he) flow round the veins,
And round the veins it flows.

6 While we have breath to use our tongues
Our Maker we'll adore;
His Spirit fills our heaving lungs,
Or they would breathe no more.

Not only are there many hymns which ought not to be in the collection, but in many instances the best hymns are wrongly classified and buried in the "Closet" or shut up to the "Family," so that the minister who employs them must seem to contradict the committee, the bishops, and the publishers. The supply of hymns of practical morality and religion, and of laboring for Christ or the salvation of souls, is inexcusably meager; and there are a few excellent hymns of recent origin which should be given to our people. But though all this is true, the book does contain more than six hundred admirable hymns, and we would do much better "to endure the evils we have than fly to those we know not of." Hence revision should not be attempted unless there is a general, almost universal, demand for it, alike among the ministry and the laity. And if there should appear such a demand, and revision should be attempted, it should be a work of years, not months; the whole subject should be examined and every principle settled.

V. Plan of Revision.

Several grave evils must be avoided, namely, that the revision shall be made by a local committee or by one controlling spirit. We can see the evil of this in the "Plymouth Collection," in many Church hymn books, to some extent in the Methodist Hymn Book, and in the "Lesser Hymnal," which last work reflects credit on its compilers, but every-where exhibits the marks of its local origin and the individual tastes of its editors. These peculiarities would not injure, but might be an advantage to a book simply offered for the use of those who might be pleased with it, but would certainly be detrimental to a hymn book designed to be the only standard hymn book of a numerous denomination.

Another evil to be sedulously guarded against is the admission of ephemeral pieces, however sweet and seductive. Where are the songs of this kind which were sung twenty years ago? A few of intrinsic merit are still sung, but the majority are not heard. It may be doubted whether hymns with choruses are ever suitable for admission into the standard Hymn Book. But whatever opinion may be held on that point, it is certain that where the body of the hymn is inferior in thought and ex-

pression to the chorus, and the chorus itself consists of one line often repeated, the hymn is unsuited for any position in such a work as we are discussing. Yet compilers must not, by a general law of exclusion, prevent the discernment and use of compositions of superior merit. Hymns composed for the purpose of being introduced should be rejected without mercy. It would be easy to show that in almost every case such hymns are failures. Yet members of committees sometimes fancy themselves poets, or have friends whom they desire to bring forward, and hymns are palmed upon a helpless multitude whose devotions they obstruct rather than assist. The hasty repudiation of old hymns to make room for new, or to meet the caprice of one person, is an evil of which there is great danger.

The writer would now present the outline of a plan which will prevent these and all other evils, and as nearly as possible perfect the work of revision if it should be found necessary to attempt it.

1. The Committee of Revision should be large, consisting of at least fifteen members. Among these should be at least two of the "fathers," men of intelligence, experience, and undoubted piety, men who love and sing the hymns of the "days that are passed and gone." There should be at least two of what may be called the self-made ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church—now in the prime of life; not learned in the lore of the schools, but capable of using language correctly, perceiving shades of meaning, good singers and efficient workers in revivals. There should be several thoroughly educated men of decided literary tastes, and one or two who have given special attention to hymnology. Two or three practical men of fine education, one or more thoroughly understanding music if possible, should be added. If there were two living poets of high rank in the denomination, they might be admitted if it could not be avoided. But one such would either control the committee or destroy its unity. This question, however, is hardly practical in this generation. There should be a few laymen, and the selections of both ministers and laymen should be made from different parts of the Church.

2. The work should be subdivided, like that of the Bible Revision Committee: subcommittee on hymns introductory,

another on God, a third on Christ, and so through the entire series. These committees should be charged with the duty of collecting suitable hymns on the topics assigned them. There should also be a committee on proportions, that is, to determine how many hymns should be admitted on the incarnation, the crucifixion, etc.

3. No hymn in the present collection should be rejected without a two-thirds vote of the whole committee against it, and none should be admitted to the new without a two-thirds vote in its favor.

Thus, and thus only, can we be protected from the twin evils of hasty rejection and hasty admission. Thus, and thus only, can we be sure of a book for the *whole Church* in which every variety of taste and every occasion can be provided for, which will have the stamp of no one mind, but will express the mind of the Church. If it be said that such a large committee will be cumbersome and expensive, we have only to say that the work is great and the evils to be avoided numerous and fatal, and there is, or should be, *no hurry;* though it remains to be proved whether Methodists can work at all if they do not hurry. Two or three half yearly meetings of a week, and a final meeting of a fortnight with the subcommittees busily engaged in the meantime, would in a few years give the Church a book which would be a help and an honor to it, and would not need to be "revised for generations to come." The publishing establishment of the Church would soon be reimbursed for the expense incurred in the preparation of such a standard hymn book by its great and immediate sale. And when a General Conference, composed of ministers and laymen, shall give such a book to the Church, its exclusive use in all the public services on the Sabbath, and as the pulpit hymn book, may with propriety be required of every minister. If we, as a Church, are ready for such a revision, let the next General Conference put the machinery in operation, but if not, let it be postponed, for no abortion will be endured by the people.

Art. VIII.—OUR SUNDAY-SCHOOL LITERATURE.

We propose to treat this very important question in the most practical manner possible, because of the fact that it is daily increasing in significance in regard to the religious and moral training of our children. The war that is just now everywhere being waged against the Bible and moral and religious teaching in our common schools will virtually soon relegate all the school training in the matter of religion to our Sunday-schools or to the family. And because in the latter, in so many instances, religious precepts and teachings are entirely wanting, the child must depend for the culture of its higher and better nature solely on the school that it visits, and the advantages that it enjoys on the Sabbath day.

As the significance of the Sunday-school is therefore yearly increasing in our social, and even national life, so must increase in importance in the same ratio the responsibility of providing in these schools the means of supplementing the failures elsewhere. And this question is, therefore, now one that weighs heavily on every Christian heart. And we are sorry to say that in our own personal experience of a superintendency of some years in a Sunday-school, we have seldom known the question of its literature, or, in other words, its library, to be met in a thoughtful and intelligent manner. It is either a blind, overweening confidence that accepts every thing because it is in the library, or a wholesale distrust of the entire collection because some of the books are manifestly not worthy of their place. At a recent teachers' meeting, at which we were present, the librarian's report declared urgent the necessity of largely increasing the number of books, because some had been read by nearly all the school, and others were totally worn out. In the course of the discussion one of the male teachers, a man of more than ordinary intelligence, declared that it were better to throw the whole library into the fire instead of increasing the number of the books to demoralize the children; while the most thoughtful and intelligent teacher present said that he never read his child's books, but supposed them all proper because they had been selected by a competent committee for the school.

Now the error is wholesale denunciation or wholesale acceptance, with very little true appreciation of the case. In the first place, the best of men differ as to what should be the ruling character of Sunday-school literature, and mostly come to their conclusions under the guidance of what they would have possible rather than of what is possible. It is a very easy thing to say that only such and such books should be admitted to the Sunday-school library, and to rule out all that do not treat of strictly moral and religious questions discussed in a serious and didactic style. But here, again, we would call attention to the practical workings of the case. A few months ago we happened to have at our command a large assortment of the very best Sunday-school publications of our own Book Concern. Taking advantage of the opportunity, we invited our two principal librarians to call and examine them with a view of selecting some for our own school. To our surprise, one book and another and another of the collection were laid aside as not desirable. Why not desirable? was our question. "Excellent books of their kind," was the reply; "but the children will not read them; and there is no use of putting them into the library." And this is not an uncommon objection to a book—"The children will not read it." The stern censor will reply, "They should be made to read it." But let him then undertake the task of literally making a child do any thing in a Sunday-school! In the first years of our Sunday-school labor we tried the system to our satisfaction, and it was sure to result in one or the other of the party going to the wall. If a child is to be *made* to do a thing in the strict sense of the term, it must perform that duty or leave the school. Now in the case of absolutely vile and incorrigible conduct in school, there is the remedy of expulsion from the school. But if this course is adopted, we are told, and perhaps justly, that the Sunday-school is the place where the wayward scholar should be kept and reclaimed, and not whence he should be expelled, and very few superintendents are justified by the Church in resorting to so stern a measure.

In short, the law of the Sunday-school is that of love and moral suasion; and when these cannot conquer, the battle against evil is lost. And this principle, we opine, is to be carried all through the Sunday-school work, and even into Sun-

day-school literature. Not by any means that we are to admit a single improper book into the library, but that we, if possible, are to fill it with such books as shall be sure to convey useful information and moral and religious instruction in words and style so attractive that the young will instinctively feel, on opening them, that they have found friends and companions rather than stern and exacting teachers. Many of them may sadly need the latter, but the Sunday-school has no means of providing them; these have their place in the secular school or the well-regulated family.

Starting, then, from the proposition that the Sunday-school library must contain such books as the children can be induced to read, or indeed will gladly read, or none at all, we meet the question of possibility of compliance with this demand, while at the same time attaining our own desirable end of providing a literature that will instruct the mind, induce thought, cultivate the heart, and lay the broad foundation for a moral and religious life. Make the library do this, we say, or else abolish it. But do those who would adopt the latter as a cure reflect on the issue? Children will read, and ought to read. It is the greatest gift and mightiest engine of modern civilization that by the cunning art of types they may read. And so soon as they are able to do this they will read, yea, the most of them will consume by the hour, such books as have the art of attracting them; and in these days of manifold publication of all sorts of matter, from periodicals to magazines and books for all ages and classes, if they do not have suitable books they will be quite sure to obtain those which are unsuitable; for these are, alas! not only spread broadcast everywhere, but many of the most vicious and depraving are smuggled into our schools and households in the most surreptitious manner. The presence of these fiendish engines of moral destruction makes it absolutely necessary for us to provide, as far as possible, a counteracting literature; and the general means of dissemination to all is the Sunday-school, because a pure and harmless literature finds the doors of so many families closed either from poverty or indifference.

This responsible question, therefore, demands a categorical reply: Can we not, in this age of thought and mental ingenuity, so much of which is coupled with the best talent and purest purpose,

supply such a literature for the Sunday-school as shall attain its end of reaching the children, while it at the same time imparts to them nothing that is simply a pastime, nothing that does not instruct the heart and tend to develop the noblest and purest elements of their nature, and eventually, if not directly, lead them to God? We believe it can be done, and that the Church fails to do its duty that does not exert its best and choicest efforts to that purpose. And here arises, in the first place, the question as to the leading characteristics of such a school of literature. There are many who would exclude all works of fiction and every product of the imagination, and this, we believe, would largely tend to set aside many of the most useful and desirable books. The imagination is one of the choicest powers of the human mind, and fiction a mode of conveying knowledge as old as the world. The child whose imagination is not allowed to roam at times in the realms of the fairy world, or feast on the thousand-and-one products of fancy, loses the purest means of cultivating the most delicate and sensitive portion of its nature, and is deprived of the freshest charm that can delight its tender years. As long as the child's reason is not developed, we have no right to demand that it shall be a reasoning being, and be treated simply to hard and angular facts. The story-telling instinct in children is so decidedly a portion of their nature, that the mother or the nurse who has not her favorite treat for the little ones has lost one of the most powerful attractions over their innocent natures; and we all know the popularity of the grandfather who has his tales with which to beguile the children who gather at his knees.

There is a period in the development of the infantile mind when the suppression of the imaginative faculties is equivalent to a check on the growth of reason, for they clearly advance for a time in harmony. If during this period, and this alone, they are cultivated in unison, this blending of the tender with the stern can alone produce the perfect work. But the imagination needs to be cultivated at the proper period, to be led into proper channels, and to cease, as a controlling power, as soon as reason has become strong enough to supplant it. Children under its influence appear to us sometimes in their innocence already as higher beings; and in proportion as with growing years we remain susceptible to its power, in that pro-

portion do we retain the innocence of childhood. Imaginative works of fiction have their origin in the Orient, and many of the most beautiful figures adopted in our Saviour's teaching to his disciples partake of this element. The story, properly so called, has a sort of cosmopolitan character, because it seems natural to all races of men, and to all realms of nature. Men, animals, plants, and stones hold communion with each other, and we are thus able to draw a lesson from all that we see and hear. But just here lies the secret of usefulness, namely, that we can draw a moral from the story. And this is the great blemish of the tales of Grimm and Andersen, that they seldom convey a moral; and the crowning glory of Æsop and his imitators in later history, that no fable passes without a moral as beautiful and effective as the story is simple. The most lasting impressions that our own childish mind ever received, and those most likely to follow us to the grave, were conveyed by the homely pictures and ingenuous stories in Webster's spelling-book about the farmer who first threw grass at the boy in his apple-tree, and was finally compelled to throw stones; or about the milkmaid, with her milk-jug; or the cat and the meal-bag. In these we confess to have learned lessons that have followed us like faithful friends, simply because of the mode in which they were conveyed.

The trouble now is that we have abandoned the good old way, and have taken the imaginative from the realm of entertaining and instructive story, and carried it into the domain of the passions. These need no stimulation, and the Sunday-school book that in the least tends to this is rank poison, and should be excluded without mercy not only from the Sunday-school, but from every other place within the reach of childhood and youth. We have heard pious and intelligent parents declare that they must take their children away from a certain Sunday-school because of the character of the library, so many of the books being little or no better than novels, that lead their children to fancy this style of imaginative literature and to endure nothing else. And we fully justify them in their anxieties, but suggest that they in such cases might better appeal, book in hand, to the Sunday-school authorities, and by insisting on expurgation of the offensive books, do their share toward purification of the source. If the preacher and the intelligent laity of the Church

were to take this matter in hand a great reform might be effected, and we would thus cure the abuse rather than abolish the means that are so useful and desirable in the premises when properly used.

The trouble about many who write for the Sunday-school is their tendency to introduce love stories in some way, and thus nourish and hasten the development of the emotional nature, which, in our hot-bed society, is brought out already too precociously. Let them avoid these premature and overstrained delineations or let them alone. We would condemn any book at first sight that devoted a page to this pernicious style of literature; it is but the first step to all the flashy trash and debauching literature of the dime novel, and in any way to cater to it is a terrible crime. In short, we would avoid every thing that is overstrained and unnatural, either excessively good or excessively bad, miraculously successful or fatally unsuccessful. If a boot black is to become a governor, it is quite possible to tell the story with our own marvelous social development in a way that is perfectly natural and probable, and to be teaching a valuable social and economical lesson at the same time. And the Sunday-school book that closes without making the reader see something good and useful in it, without adorning its tale with a moral or religious sequence, might better not be written. This must be ingeniously done sometimes with a view of concealing the art; the pupil must be attracted to the fold and not dragged into it. Let the child be told in the beginning that it is from a certain book to learn certain things, and it will regard the reading as a task; but lead it gently on with attractive story, and let the moral or religious truth be a clear revelation at the end, and its work is a labor of love from which it reaps lasting benefit.

Even abstruse knowledge may, in the hands of a master, be conveyed in this story-telling style; but it is then necessary carefully to avoid the double cliff of danger, first in tiring the young readers by stiffness or constraint of style, or of disgusting and tiring them by a too childish simplicity. There is a golden medium between this Scylla and Charybdis that may convey scientific information while entertaining the reader. The French have of late years been very successful in this kind of literature, and are thus taking the early instruction of their chil-

dren out of the hands of incompetent teachers or silly and ignorant nurses, and relegating it to the mother. In this they are greatly aided by such charming authors as Jean Macé in his "Story of a Mouthful of Bread," and Stahl in his "Travels of Mademoiselle Lili, with a Homely Moral." "The History of a House" has come upon the youthful world of France almost like a revelation. It had hitherto seemed scarcely possible to induce the child to study the source and product of house-building in a scientific way, and now the book can scarcely be kept out of the hands of French children. The "History of a Fortress" is thus made to tell the whole story of French history from early days down to the fall of a fortress in the late war that had hitherto withstood all the assaults of enemies. But it also at the same time beguiles the child into the study of the military art, so dear to the French nature, and acquaints it with scientific theories and technical expressions apparently entirely without the range of childhood. Indeed, these books have a style and language so wonderfully pure and intelligible, in connection with a winning grace, that adults are reading them with increasing interest, and their wonderful success is making them rivals of the fashionable novel. Grimard's "Plant" is another book of the same kind, in which the difficult technical terms of botany are kept in the background, and the whole work is to the child, not an herbarium of dry plants, but a rich bed of living flowers. The love of nature is everywhere ingeniously combined with the thoroughness of the scholar.

We know it is thus possible to fight vice with its own weapons, and to deny to it the exclusive right of attractive vestments for its hidden stings, just as Wesley is said to have claimed for his pious and sanctifying hymns the melodies that were being used for base purposes. It is a common saying in France that the great fabulist, La Fontaine, has by his inimitable fables, with their genial and touching morals, done more toward refining and elevating the nation than all the biblical literature of the land. This is as creditable to La Fontaine as discreditable to Christian teachers, and we simply quote it to point our own moral, namely, that it is possible, by the adoption of the proper form and safeguards, to make our own Sunday-school literature a great blessing to the Church and the land.

Now these premises lead us naturally to the inquiry, Have we adopted the best means to make our Sunday-school literature acceptable and useful, and have we the cunning workers in the field that this serious cause of juvenile instruction needs? And the experience of the past compels us to admit that we yet fall greatly short of the high aim that we ought to reach. In the first place, the whole system needs raising to a higher level. It is a crime to think that any thing will do for the Sunday-school, or that any one can labor for it. It is far too common for literary amateurs to try their hand on this work as practice for something of a higher grade, while the truth is that the Sunday-school needs and ought to have the best trained talent. Nay, more, it ought to have genius; nay, more, it ought to have, we say it reverently, it ought to have inspiration! As the poet is born, not made, so is the writer for children endowed with peculiar and God-given qualities that cannot be made to come at our bidding, and that may not be ignored when they come; for they are precious jewels intrusted to our keeping as the talents of Scripture story. As few persons are endowed with the power of successfully speaking to children so as to attract and hold their attention, thus are but very few so gifted that their pen talks with winning words. Either capacity is a power so rare that it should be held in high estimation instead of being pushed, as it so often is, into the background, or relegated to inferior workers.

Consecrated toilers alone should be admitted into this hierarchy, and the test to a large extent should be the children themselves. They better than we can tell who attracts their attention and chains their feelings. Experienced judges in the work, and especially in the practical work of the Sunday-school, may be the first arbiters who shall decide as to the fitness of certain books; but the plain proverb that declares the test of pudding to be in the eating is peculiarly applicable here. If an author does not soon succeed with the chosen audience, it is better, far better, to withdraw than to continue to waste time and money in multiplying books that the children cannot be hired to read. We often sympathize with them when they glance over a Sunday-school book just received, and in sorrow or disgust lay it down with the uncomplimentary assurance that they would not read it for a dollar; for generally, on running over its pages, we are inclined to say that ten dol-

lars would not tempt us to undertake the task. And why? Simply because so many books are so mongrel in their nature —neither fish nor flesh—written for children by those who cannot even write for adults, and with words, expressions, and style that tell so clearly that the author is simply the wolf trying to catch the little ones in sheep's clothing. Children can tell sooner than we, perhaps, when an author thus comes in stiff and ungainly disguise, and when, on the contrary, his works are the natural gushings of his heart. To the latter they yield instantly, to the former they are shy or indifferent.

A few weeks ago a lady stranger came to our school, and was introduced as a simple visitor having an interest in the Sunday-school work. We thought we saw a gift in her genial face and flashing eye, and ventured to invite her to go in and see the little ones of the infant department and say a few words to them. As she gently rose and looked around at them and said, with kindly eye and soft voice, "Children," every little form leaned forward, and every little eye was fastened on hers, as much as to say, "Here we are, madam; we know you are genuine at a glance." And thus the very first glance over the pages of a book tells a child its general character and gains its sympathy. The book is a pleasure or a task in a very few minutes, and, if the latter, it is soon laid aside. Tell the mother she ought to make the child read, and she will probably reply that she could not be hired to read it herself, because it is a failure. Now, alas! these failures are so frequent that many believe them to be the rule, and thus reject the books altogether.

Now the moral of this lesson is, that literary people, who, thoughtlessly and unbidden, rush into this arena, where angels should indeed fear to tread, should be kindly but positively ordered out. Many are so manifestly unfit for their task that it is patent to all but themselves, and yet they are allowed to publish books that are not and will not be read. A lady said to us a few days ago, on picking up a recently published Sunday-school book, "Why, can it be possible that this man is still writing books for the Sunday-school? When I was a little girl my Sunday-school teacher gave me one of his books, and it was so dreary that I threw it down in disappointment and disgust, and have never yet forgiven him or her for thus wrecking my childish hopes on taking it as a present." And many

a child is thus weekly disgusted at the supposed treasure that it brings home from the library.

To these complaints we hear the frequent reply that it is very easy to find fault, and the ominous question, "Can you do any better?" We cannot, and we wish that all who cannot would be frank enough to say so, or fortunate enough to find friends to tell them so before they waste valuable time and do incalculable mischief. Our way would be to accept only books that evidently have the divine afflatus, and whose workers are gifted in their calling. These we would pay well, and thus make the calling acceptable to them, and so attractive as to secure them for this much-needed work. We believe there are plenty of good and willing workers in our land, if they were only attracted to the work and made to feel secure and, above all, respected in it. Incompetent workers we would reject without fear or favor, and, above all, would never publish a book simply because it would probably sell. Good works would sell fast enough, because the satisfaction with those commanding our confidence would cause a large demand. If parents, superintendents, and librarians were confident that they could safely order books for the children of certain firms, knowing that they would be unobjectionable, they would be overrun with orders. Such publishers would be considered benefactors of our race.

Now how is this great *desideratum* to be obtained? We would have connected with the Sunday-school department of our Book Concern, for instance, an advisory committee, all of large experience and successful labor in the Sunday-school work, under whose eye should pass every manuscript applying for recognition. We would have this committee consist of fathers and mothers, that all interests and instincts should be regarded in the first place, and that women should have a controlling voice in the second, for we would sooner trust to the Sunday-school sense of women in regard to what the children would and should read than to that of men. This committee ought to feel the responsibility of their position, and be reasonably rewarded for it, and, in common with the leaders of the Sunday-school department, be held responsible for their decisions to the Church. It would be far more easy to reject a book in such a body than when depending on a single individual,

who could be appealed to and swayed more easily than a collective body. Harsh as it might sometimes seem, every book should be received absolutely on its own merits, regardless of the name or position of the author, and to this end we would suggest that the committee should not know the name of the author until the manuscript were accepted, and then only by breaking the seal of an accompanying letter. In short, we would introduce into this work a species of competitive examination that would settle a question absolutely on its own merits.

And in offering these suggestions, we freely acknowledge that it is quite easy to sit at one's desk and make all these arrangements, but that the practical working of the system is by no means so easy. This we grant. But we are compelled to say that until some such system is carried out, the Sunday-school will never have fitting books, nor parents and teachers confidence in what they buy. If our Sunday-school could know that by sending their orders to our Book Concern, for instance, for so many books of such a general character, they would be sure of receiving appropriate and desirable books in all respects, they would hail the fact with joy, and seldom obtain a book elsewhere. The practical workings of the system now are thuswise: The school resolves to obtain a hundred new volumes for the library, and a committee is appointed for that purpose, whose business it is to obtain suitable books. They soon have catalogues and offers from various sources, and generally close with parties that seem to offer them the best bargain and present the best looking lot of books. The supposition that the committee examine the books with any care is a myth—they can seldom see the books before they buy, unless these happen to be in a neighboring store, and if this be the case, they very seldom have time to do more than run over the leaves. And should they give days to anxious examination, we believe that not one school in a score has members in all respects fitted for the task. This work requires a little too much skill and experience to expect this, and more than is usually met within the school itself. But it ought to be found at head-quarters, and if the Sunday-school workers knew that it could be, they would hail the information with joy, and rejoice that so Christian and important a task had been well performed for them and the school.

Now, with this platform laid down, we propose to examine in brief the present *status* of our Sunday-school work in connection with our own official publishing house, and the recent labors of the General Conference officers in special charge of that important work. And we are happy to say that we approach this portion of our task with pleasure and confidence, from the conviction that great advance has been made among us for the last few years, and that by the indefatigable labors of our gifted Sunday-school secretary and his efficient associate, the Sunday-school work and productions of the Methodist Episcopal Church have advanced to the front rank. When viewing the manifold improvements in Sunday-school appliances of all kinds, and the rapidly rising character of the labor and results in that field, we are proud and gratified to know, that whenever there is an advance movement our own secretary is in the front rank, enjoying the regards and confidence, and receiving the homage of the noble band of Sunday-school laborers of the evangelical Churches of the land.

The leading principles of Dr. Vincent's work have been to raise the Sunday-school to the level of the Church, as a part of its working machinery, without in any way encroaching on its legitimate domain. The Sunday-school is to supplement, not to supplant, the Church work, to make it broader, deeper, more thorough. And to this end the Sunday-school is being made a school for Bible study for all classes of the Church, young and old; a Bible-school in short. Thus the idea that the Sunday-school is for the children alone is being rapidly eradicated, and many of our schools contain Bible-classes for youth and adults in such numbers, that the stranger on entering the chief department is in doubt as to whether he has fallen on a Sunday school or a church. Now this is as it should be; the school in its working capacity may be broad as the Church, nay, broader; for beginning with the child as early as it can walk to the school, it continues its labors through all the stages of life, down to the gray and tottering fathers and mothers in Israel. And this for the simple reason that intelligent Sunday-school study has now become practical Bible study in its broadest sense, and such study should never cease while the sincere Christian is yet on his earthly pilgrimage.

This exalted platform of Sunday-school aims, and needs,

and duties, has necessitated a great advance all along the line of Sunday-school literature, of which the library has become so essential a part; and in the endeavor to offer the means of moral and religious culture to adults as well as to youth and children, the issues of our department have of late years been much more than formerly adapted to the older pupils. This work has so much increased, that it is rapidly approaching a classification which ought, in our judgment, to crystallize into form as soon as possible. Sunday-school publications should be distributed into three distinct divisions: for the children, the youth, and the adults; and thus there should be in each school a child's library, a juvenile and an adult library, the latter for the teachers and the adult Bible-classes. This system will give a far more extensive range to books and authors, for some workers will be adapted to one branch of the work, and some to another. And when our publishing house issues, as it now does, books with this intent, it should be the constant effort of librarians to make this classification in their arrangement and insist on it in the school. This, in our own experience, has for some reason been a difficult matter to put into practice. Tell a librarian that he must make the distinction of books according to grade of classes, and he will raise objections, the responsibility of which he places on the scholars by affirming that the little ones will not take the small books if they can help it, and that the larger scholars frequently prefer the books written more especially for the small children. But here is a case where common sense and authority can and should control. Let the classes of the school be enrolled on the librarian's books according to these divisions, and the books distributed to them with direct reference to this fact and aim. Besides the manifest consistency of this system, there is yet this advantage to be gained—it practically gives to the school the advantage of having three libraries. The child exhausts the first, and on rising in grade takes up the second as a new one; and when this is finished, finds again a fresh set in the highest order of books. Without some such system, the scholars will be led through the whole range, or be permitted to roam at large through the whole field, to its own disadvantage and final dissatisfaction. And again, with this system our publishing interests can have a wide range of subjects on its lists, with every diversity for

all ages and classes, and they can all find a fitting and desirable place in the Sunday-school collection, and thus from the outset be assured a place in the public eye while they are making themselves known by their intrinsic merits. For a new book from a new author is like a stranger that needs to make his way into the community: if he belongs to a class he can appeal to it, and claim a place there, on the simple ground of fellowship, until he can make his way on his own deserts. When the name of an author has become known and popular, it is sufficient, and sometimes too much so, to insure a kind reception; for popular authors are thus tempted at times to cast bantlings on the world with very little merit or preparation, simply because they know that their reputation will insure a welcome to inferior visitors.

And now to approach the books for the Sunday-school bearing the *imprimatur* of our Book Concern, we find ourselves surrounded by a veritable multitude of applicants for attention and recognition—an actual library in themselves—and the most of them published during the last five or six years. As we look at their very tempting exteriors, and attractive adornings of gilt and muslin, we pronounce most of them beautiful and appropriate in dress, and some of them gorgeous in golden emblems almost to a fault. For these beautiful garments are promises of fine interiors to the child, that may sometimes have its hopes sadly blighted by the meager larder contained within the gilded closet. But it is well to make the books externally attractive to the child, it is well to have beauty and refinement every-where, and especially where it can attract and refine the expanding soul. As we look thoughtfully at this numerous company, we instinctively say to ourselves, O that we only knew that all these books were good simply because of their lineage, and of the fanciful monogram composed of the significant letters N. and P.! If it were so, how many harrowing doubts would be removed, and how much time would be spared to us and the whole community of book-reading Christians in our Church! Now we are happy to say, conscientiously, that we believe this to be the case about as much as we could reasonably expect with the imperfect development of our system in the matter of accepting books before they are sent to the press; we only wish it were wholly so, and believe the cause

is in such good hands that we are rapidly approaching this much-to-be-desired goal.

Our trouble now is to do justice to all of these candidates for public favor; to name them simply, would be to take all the limits that this article can expect, much less to treat of their contents. About all that we can do, is to examine those that seem to us, in our very fallible judgment, to present the most worthy claims to their office, and to say whether they seem to us to reach the standard that we have assumed to lay down, frankly acknowledging that we, the critic, are, alas! too vulnerable to criticism, and quite too likely to do injustice to those we notice, as well as those which we are forced to pass over.

And first, to look after the little ones, as every Sunday-school man should, we notice a large collection of small books, published mainly in the form of series, and treating of many useful, natural subjects, something after the manner of object-teaching. Most of these are very well adapted to their purpose, though, sometimes, evidently too carelessly written, with an overstrained effort to use childish words rather than to put thoughts into attractive form for budding minds. It is a tempting and a common fault to use instruments that are too childish, and which, as such, become patent to the children, and induce them to resent them. It is the lively, bright, sparkling manner, rather than the nursery vocabulary, that will chain children's attention. With these constituents the teacher always has to meet with the desire of the child to seem large, and capable of doing and knowing as much as others; this is by no means to be gratified; but, on the other hand, the worst introduction of a book to this class of readers is the quality of seeming childish on its face. Again, we think some of the books needlessly small. The child resents this immediately. Give it its own choice of books, and it will be sure to carry off the largest ones in the library; firstly, because it looks large to do so; and secondly, because it thus insures the larger literary banquet to itself. In replenishing our own library we can hardly induce the librarian to accept small books, because the children do not like them, and will not take them if they can help it. Therefore, though we would not yield to this spirit, we would not, at the same time, needlessly expose ourselves

to the trouble by making books that are more cover than any thing else.

Let the books be of fair size, so that the child would not feel hurt on receiving them, put them into the Child's Library, and give them only to the children's classes in the school proper—not to the infant department, which will be much better served by some of our admirable papers. Our principal objection to the "Little Blue Mantle Library," is the attenuated form of the books. They seem to be well written, the subjects are chosen from every-day life, indulging in scenes such as children often experience and are most attracted by, and the stories convey wholesome morals as they proceed or at their close. "The Aunty Lee Library" scarcely escapes the above criticism as to the size of the books; some of them are so small as to be, we think, objectionable, others are of fair size, and, as children's books, they are quite acceptable. The series known as the "Books for the Children's Hour," we rule in on the matter of size, and feel that they will receive a welcome from the little ones. The "Sunberry Dale Library" seems to be an excellent collection, except, perhaps, the book on "Common Wonders;" we doubt the practicability of talking to young children about oxygen and phlogiston! Some good things are said in the "Guilford-street Stories," though we question the judiciousness of introducing dialects into children's books. Not many of them will understand the "canny Scotch," or care to take the trouble to find it out. Nearly every thing that is unintelligible or forbidding at first glance they pass over quickly to arrive at what is up to their comprehension. And thus we merely mention the "Books About Boys," the "Daisy Books," the "Bertie and Amy Books," to recognize their existence, and with these give a hint of the extent to which the "Concern" supplies pabulum for the "lambs of the flock." And we leave this branch of the subject with the assurance that such work is nowhere better done than within our own borders.

The publications belonging to the library of second grade, the juvenile, or Youth's Library, presents a veritable embarrassment of riches, as the French say. We know not how many hundreds, for we are not of a statistical turn of mind, but they are sufficiently numerous certainly to stock most

libraries, and sufficiently varied to suit all tastes. And they are of all grades; most of them, especially the later ones, are excellent; the standard has been rising in harmony with the recently broad development of the Sunday-school idea. Some few of them, we think, never can be popular; some never ought to be. We have tried to select a few for special reference with the same fear that we do some injustice by passing over them. The one that chance placed on the top of our pile bears the name of "God's Way." It is well and carefully written, in a pure, harmonious style, and well-chosen words, and shows how God teaches by his providence, when his loving-kindness fails to win our hearts. Next steps up "Life on the Circuit," a book for grown-up girls—encouraging those who have entered His service to let their light shine, to work lovingly in the path marked out for their feet, assured that His promised presence shall go with them ever and give them rest. An excellent book. Number three is the "Two Paths," a book for boys, which pictures the evils of intemperance, and shows how the slaves of King Alcohol lose manhood, honor, and finally their souls, in his service. Would that its lessons could be read and heeded by all our Sunday-school boys! "Hope Raymond" is by the same author, and equally good.

"Arctic Heroes," "North Pole Voyages," and some others in this line by the same author, are hard to classify; they were evidently intended for the Youth's Library, but they are hardly sprightly enough for it. They have no very bad qualities, but they have no strikingly good ones, which should be the aim of every Sunday-school book; like many of the historical and narrative books, they are negative rather than positive. One of their faults the author is not responsible for, they have too compact a page; solid reading frightens off many a Sunday-school scholar. Let the printer space well, break up the matter into frequent paragraphs, and make the page look open and inviting; give it a smiling rather than a serious face. "Every Inch a King" is a very timely book for the present International Sunday-School Lessons, and should be widely read. The writer gives the key to its appropriateness by the declaration that it was written at the suggestion and under the eye of Dr. Vincent. Our secretary looks a little farther ahead

than most men, and sees the peculiar fitness of things with a rare common sense for one riding a hobby, if he will pardon this little touch of malice. "The Gems of India" is written with a view to interest our own women in their sisters of India, by giving sketches of some distinguished women of that missionary field, and thereby proving them well worthy of Christian sympathy. The story is well told, but in terms, we think, a little harsh, while the style is stiff. Let the words flow from the pen to suit the children, not be extracted from it; inspiration needs to season all such narratives to make them attractive to the young mind.

"How Marjorie Watched," "Little Foxes," and some others by the same author, are pleasantly and naturally written, and will be enjoyed by the young. In the latter the author has striven to show how even the little ones in their daily life may show their love to Jesus by watching the "Little Foxes" of selfishness, ill-temper, etc. "The Home Story Series" doubtless contains many good things, and is written in attractive style; but we are sorry that the first story that we happened to look at, on opening the book at random, is about a rich man meeting a shop-girl, following her, and going with her to and fro from her home. It ends in marriage. In our judgment this is not a suitable thing to lay before the young girls of the Sunday-school; it might lead silly and romantic girls to seek such meetings with strange men, and they learn enough of such lessons in the flash literature of the day. This story turns out well, of course, but how many of such enterprises might turn out the other way, and lead them to ruin! "Our King and Saviour" is a beautifully told story of our Lord's life on earth. It would be a capital thing for intelligent and enthusiastic Sunday-school teachers to study its chapters, endeavor to acquire their style, and repeat them at times to their classes. Many a child will study the life of Christ in these pages with avidity, that could not be induced to acquire it from the original source, because that would bear the appearance of a task. This will be a pleasure. The same author has just gladdened the hearts of his many friends by issuing a gorgeous book, inside and out, bearing the winning title of "Summer Days on the Hudson." The hundred illustrations, the letter-press, the text, are all magnificent. But will he pardon one so much his

inferior in all that relates to Sunday-school work and experience for humbly asking how he could consent to mar such beauty by introducing, without any necessity to the real thread of the story, such scenes as those between two young people of sixteen with their arms around each other, and excusing it with the remark that they are "engaged!"

"The Royal Road to Fortune" is an extremely interesting and entertaining book for the young, showing how, by industry and faithfulness to Christian principles, one may rise from the lowest stations of life to fill positions of honor and trust. It may encourage many a struggling youth to take for his motto, "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." We feel that the authoress of this and numerous other works for the young has found her proper place in the vineyard of the Lord, and one for which she is fitted by peculiar gifts. In the catalogue there are many books of an historical character, and we have looked over more of them than we dare take room to mention. Few of them come up to our standard of historical writing for the young, though many of them are good. As a general critique we would say that an effort is made to render history interesting not so much by clothing the narrative in attractive and magnetic style, as by imagining a company of young people to whom it is read, and then allowing them to interpolate their particular opinions of the case under discussion. In some instances a history like Bancroft's is taken by paragraphs, and relief from the general weight is found in permitting Susie or Willie to express opinions, many of which are very childish and unnatural. Now children see through this bait as well as any body, and know that this is merely thrown in to urge them on by a series of platitudes to read what otherwise would be considered too deep for them, and they are quite likely to resent it, and skip over expressions of opinions to which they can come quite as well as the fictitiously-invited company. Better by far rewrite the history for the children in such style and dress as will attract them without these too patent traps. Now such we find, to our own taste, in very rare perfection in the "Church History Series," of which "Glaucia" was the first. These are written in a style that has the afflatus which will attract children instantly, and are so interspersed with lively dialogue that belongs to the thread of the

story that children do not tire of the task. We consider them unsurpassed in Sunday-school literature, and feel that they ought to be in every Sunday-school library. They would be eagerly read by the youth for whom they are written. And with this we reluctantly close our review of the volumes for the Youth's Library, having alluded to but a few of what we may term representative books.

The highest grade of library, that for teachers and adults, can have, of course, a very wide range, and many of the books of our Concern are among the finest and most desirable in the catalogue of pure and instructive modern literature. We stop for special notice at those intended to be aids to teachers in their work. Some of these are manuals, like Alden's; or "Peeps at our Sunday-Schools," like Taylor's. A very useful and desirable work for teachers is found in the "Normal Outline Series." The first is the "Outlines of Bible History," by Dr. J. F. Hurst; to be followed by an "Outline of Church History," and also a "History of Christian Doctrine." These, with the "Outlines of Christian Evidences," give a vast amount of the cream of the knowledge to be gleaned from these departments, and are admirably compact labor-saving machinery for the busy or inexperienced teacher. The "Illustrated Hand-book of Bible Manners and Customs," by the associate Sunday-school secretary, is a perfect *vade mecum* of Bible knowledge, and should be in the teacher's pocket as his own, rather than a book of the library. It is a thorough, painstaking, and exhaustive work, of a purely practical character, regarding every question in its line of treatment; a practical encyclopedia of Bible information outside of Bible history, a book to keep, and that will keep. As we step more into the realms of the weekly wants of the teacher, we find an excellent teacher's companion in the annual "Lesson Compend," containing the cream of all the notes in the various commentators that refer to the subjects chosen for the lessons of the year. This "Lesson Compend" is very compact, and very rich in excerpts, and supplies to the teacher and the student what they could only obtain of themselves with much labor and a large library of commentators. It needs great judgment of the fitness of things to rule its selections, and with the exercise of this it must continue to be a success. We simply glance over

a series of manuals and guides for infant-class teachers, to give them recognition and a place in our *résumé* of the long series of publications of this character on the schedule of our publishing house.

And now we pass, with pleasure and pride, to the more active series of weekly and monthly issues for the weekly needs of the Sunday-school work. The "Sunday-School Journal," itself to a large extent the creation of the tireless secretary, is a marvel of success, it having reached a monthly issue of nearly one hundred and twenty thousand copies. It is the head and front of the International Series of Sunday-school Lessons, which is now so extended as to embrace almost the range of Christendom, for it is being introduced into foreign countries, and, we believe, at some of the missions. These uniform lessons are a great advance on the old system of teaching, and have introduced Heaven's first law into the Sunday-school, namely, order; for, until their introduction, much of the Sunday-school work in the schools proper was more like chaos than any thing else. That they are entirely free from objections no one would pretend; but they are yearly improving, as they are collecting the experience of all evangelical Sunday-school workers. One insufficiency in their practical working, according to our own experience, is the difficulty of making the same treatment of the lesson embrace all classes of the school. As they are arranged for the primary department in contradistinction with the juvenile, so, we think, it will be necessary to make a more special section for the advanced Bible-classes, so that these latter may have a still higher grade of questions and a deeper mode of investigation.

The "Journal" for the teachers is supplemented by the "Berean Lesson Leaves" for the scholars, which are issued literally by the million, and distributed monthly to the pupils, so that each one in the school may have the opportunity to study the lesson in advance, and be prepared for an intelligent examination of the subject for the day. To these are added the "Berean Question Book," having all the lessons for the year compactly arranged, and thus affording excellent aid to the teachers in their quarterly and annual reviews. And to these we may add the "Picture Lesson Paper" for the infant department, designed especially to give, in a simple form, the

lessons for the month, with some illustrations of a nature to attract the eye of the little ones and assist in conveying to them the substance of the lessons. And then, for general circulation in the school, we find the Weekly "Sunday-School Advocate," an illustrated Sunday-school periodical peculiarly adapted to the work of conveying simple and fresh religious truths to all the younger scholars. The circulation of these is very large, and always increasing. To these we may add maps and charts, "Bible Roll," "Quarterly Illuminated Leaf Cluster," for the infant department, and a host of other auxiliaries to successful teaching, which simply form the wonder of those who are wise enough to visit, occasionally, the grand depot of them all at the Sunday-school head-quarters in the extensive basement of the publishing buildings in New York. This department bids fair to stand at the head of the guild in New York, and, we think, in the world; and we gladly notice a recognition of this fact by the appointment of its superintendent to the control and oversight of the Sunday-school Division at the Centennial Exposition.

A new and peculiar Sunday-school organ is now making its way to the front, and attracting general attention among teachers, bearing the name of "Normal Class," a monthly magazine for the discussion of Sunday-school topics, and especially for the purpose of aiding and encouraging the foundation of normal classes for the special instruction of Sunday-school teachers in their work. This idea we understand to be the creation of our Sunday-school secretary, and we know it to be one that deserves success. The great problem of the good Sunday-school is how to obtain competent teachers. Now it is simply impossible, and is likely to remain so, unless some very thorough measures are adopted to that end. The only thorough way is to have normal schools or institutes for their training. But as the entire work is voluntary, it is by no means easy to induce teachers to put themselves into regular training for it, and we consider, therefore, this problem the knottiest of the whole, and if Dr. Vincent solves it by his "Normal Class," and his direct and practical appeals and teachings, he will receive the grateful thanks of a multitude of workers outside of our own Church. The teachers of Brooklyn have just requested the publication of a series of

normal class lectures recently delivered in that city by our secretary.

In short, we believe that the Sunday-school idea has grown marvelously in the hands of those who now control and develop it within our Church, and that we all owe them a debt of gratitude. That some errors, perhaps, are committed, and that some things are overdone, may probably be true; but we believe that not a few of the abuses now creeping into our Churches, and charged so freely to the Sunday-school, ought not to be laid at its door. It is no fault of the school if parents allow it to supplant the Church, for it by no means desires to do so, and all its teachings, and especially its most recent ones, are in a directly opposite direction. It is not to supplant the Church, even with the children, but to supplement it for all grades and ages of the Christian family; and it is the duty of parents and pastors to aid it in so doing that children and adults may be properly trained to listen to the teachings of the pulpit with intelligence as well as faith.

And in regard to the Sunday-school library, we would say, in closing, that we believe it is often unfairly used. It is a little too popular nowadays to give it a kick in passing that is entirely gratuitous. Very many are ready to cast slurs on it who know nothing about it, and whose instinct would make it much worse than it is if they had the control of it. A few days ago we happened to see a pseudo-witty announcement that the publishers of a flash story by a prominent individual in a recent notorious trial could supply no more for the general trade until the orders of Sunday-school librarians were all filled. Now all this is simply slander of a very base sort, and no Christian parent should encourage it. There are very many good books in these libraries as a rule, and the grade is continually improving, and will improve much faster if all parties concerned—parents, teachers, and pastors—will take an intelligent and kindly interest in them, and by their experience and advice help on the consummation of a most desirable work. The Sunday-school is rapidly becoming a great and indispensable necessity to our social organization, if we are not to become a godless people. Appearances now indicate that the last vestige of religious teaching must soon disappear from the secular school. In this case thousands of children will have no oppor-

tunity to receive religious instruction except in the Sunday-school, for the families of many will be as destitute of it as the school. Hence the Sunday-school now needs the broadest and most generous treatment at the hands of Christians and philanthropists. By good books, good systems, and good teachers, it should be made as far as possible a school for consistent and consecutive religious culture, and we Methodists should be in the lead in introducing method and religious spirit into the whole work, with the view of securing an intelligent and scientific culture of Bible knowledge, and the attainment of religious truth. And we are very happy to give utterance to the conviction, that while working in fraternal harmony with all evangelical Christians, those to whom we have especially intrusted those great interests seem always to be first among their brethren; for which we are proud of them, and grateful to them. May God in his divine mercy protect and guide and preserve them in their noble work!

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, January, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. Angels. 2. The School and the Church. 3. Benedict and the Benedictines. 4. The New Nature of the Believer. 5. The Talmud. 6. The Unity of the Bible. 7. David Benedict.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Eclectic, January, 1876. (Andover.)—1. Modern Thought. 2. Cherubim. 3. Words in New Testament Greek borrowed from the Hebrew and Aramean. 4. The True Basis of Fellowship in Congregational Churches. 5. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages. 6. On the Question of the Divine Institution of Sacrifice. 7. Review of the "Identification of Mount Pisgah."

Christian Quarterly, January, 1876. (Cincinnati.)—1. How to reach a Higher Spiritual Life. 2. The Ages of Nature and the Mosaic Account. 3. The Advance of Christianity in the First Centuries. 4. Modern Revivalism. 5. By what Name shall we be Called? 6. Is there a Personal Devil? 7. Evangelists, their Office and Work. 8. The Great Mistake of our Times. 9. Is the Reformation Complete?

Congregational Quarterly, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. David Bacon. 2. Revivals and the Ordinary Working Condition of the Churches. 3. The Conferences at Bonn. 4. Giving as an Act of Worship. 5. Conviction of Sin. 6. Comparative Statistics. 7. Congregational Necrology.

New Englander, January, 1876. (New Haven.)—1. Count Rumford. 2. Mind in Nature. 3. Empirical Dissent from Mr. Spencer's Philosophy. 4. On the Terminology of the Periods of the English Language. 5. Christian Classics. 6. What is the Bible? 7. Lay-Preaching. 8. The German Gymnasium.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register. January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of the Hon. Wm. A. Buckingham, LL.D. 2. Letter of William Penn, 1683. 3. Papers relating to the Acadians. 4. Letters of Edward Randolph, 1685. 5. Portraits and Busts in Possession of the American Antiquarian Society and other Associations in Worcester. 6. The Reverend Jesse Glover. 7. Descendants of Benjamin Hammond. 8. Descendants of Philip and John Langdon. 9. Ancient Wills—Mary Newmarch. 10. Passengers to America. 11. A Few Words additional relative to Col. John May and his Journeys to the Ohio country. 12. Early Settlers of West Springfield. 13. Births, Marriages, and deaths in Dartmouth. 14. A Letter of Col. Ethan Allen. 15. Church Records of the Rev. Hugh Adams, of Durham, N. H. 16. The Furness Pedigree. 17. Instructions for Emigrants from Essex County, Mass., to South Carolina, 1697. 18. The Willoughby Family of New England. 19. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in the County of Suffolk. 20. Letters from the Gerrish Manuscripts. 21. Descendants of Reginald Fo(r)ster.

Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, January, 1876. (New York.)—1. The Auburn Declaration. 2. The Study of the Hebrew Language. 3. Jesus and the Resurrection. 4. Our Indians, and the Duty of the Presbyterian Church to them. 5. The Philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. 6. Perpetuity of the Sabbath. 7. Church Questions in Foreign Missions. 8. The Utrecht Psalter and the Athanasian Creed.

Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, January, 1876. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Work of the General Synod. 2. The Requisites of a Sermon. 3. Our Future Life. 4. A Question in Church Polity. 5. Newman on Justification. 6. Systematic Beneficence. 7. The Foundation of Moral Obligation.

Universalist Quarterly, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. The Moral Sense. 2. The Bible. 3. The Nature and Office of Justice. 4. Personal Reminiscences of the War, with Special Reference to the Colored Troops. 5. The Giant Cities of Bashan. 6. Sacrificial Atonement. 7. Revivals and the Unchurched.

North American Review, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Religion in America, 1776–1876. 2. Politics in America, 1776–1876. 3. Abstract Science in America, 1776–1876. 4. Economic Science in America, 1776–1876. 5. Law in America, 1776–1876. 6. Education in America, 1776–1876.

The present is emphatically a centennial number, being reviews by different authors of our national progress in the various departments, namely, Religion, Politics, Science, Law, and Education.

We are especially interested with the article on Religion, by J. L. Diman, of course a Unitarian. Our space obliges us unwillingly to confine our treatment to an extract touching our own Church.

Mr. Lecky expresses the opinion that, "if in the sphere of religion the rationalistic doctrine of personal merit and demerit should ever completely supersede the theological doctrine of hereditary merit and demerit, the change will mainly be effected by the triumph of democratic principles in the sphere of politics;" and he might have drawn an illustration of his theory from the fact that the great religious revolt in this country from the exclusiveness of Calvinism was coincident with the great democratic revolt from the conservative politics of the founders of the Re-

public. If a connection could be established between the two, it would be by no means the first instance of two movements essentially distinct, yet due, in some measure, to the same general causes. . . .

But by far the most important phase of this reaction is shown in the enormous growth of Methodism. It would argue a most superficial acquaintance with this great movement to define it as essentially a protest; but it is not the less true that in the religious history of this country Methodism represents a profound popular reaction. In this light the rise of this great and influential body must be viewed as the most signal religious fact which the past century presents. When their first conference met at Baltimore in 1784 they collected but sixty preachers, and it was reckoned that in the whole country they could muster but twenty more. Dr. Stiles did them no injustice when he spoke of them in his Election Sermon as "very inconsiderable." They were not only few in number, but poor and unknown; they worshiped in barns, in back streets, and beneath the canopy of heaven. By the census of 1870 they were credited with more than twenty-five thousand parish organizations, and a church property of seventy millions. Their own statistics for the past year give more than twenty-six thousand preachers, and a church property of more than eighty millions. The churches have increased at the rate of two for each secular day throughout the year. They are now by far the most numerous religious organization in the land, and with a zeal and confidence fully proportioned to their strength. A phenomenon so striking cannot be explained but from the operation of some powerful cause. The growth of Methodism may be attributed in part to its wonderful organization; yet it would seem that in this country the extremely autocratic character of that organization, while securing it extraordinary efficiency, could not have gained it popular favor. The vital power of Methodism must be sought, not in its form, but in its spirit. It is impossible to account for its rapid growth, save on the hypothesis that it met a great popular want. And it is equally impossible not to recognize the fact that this adaptation lay in the sharp contrast which it presented to the prevailing faith. The immense popular influence of Methodism lay in its bold appeal from "the theology of the intellect" to "the theology of the feelings." Calvinism, throughout all its camps, "lay intrenched in the outworks of the understanding;" but to souls sated with theological formulas, Methodism, with its direct intuitions of divine truth, came like springs of water in a dry and thirsty land. Wesley rejected all creeds but the simple symbol of the apostles; and if his American disciples departed from his example in adopting articles of faith, they conformed to his spirit in making these articles "a simple compendium of the Universal Church, excluding even the peculiar features of the Wesleyan theology." They insisted, always and every-where, that religious faith is not a logical conviction. Making their appeal at once to man's spiritual

nature, laying no stress on nice theological distinctions, they naturally held knowledge of Greek and Latin in light esteem as a qualification for saving souls. Not one of the men who founded Methodism in America, with the single exception of Coke, had received a college education. Asbury, whose influence was incomparably greater than that of Coke, had never enjoyed this advantage. The great feature of early Methodism was its faith in immediate inspiration. Its leaders lived, like Loyola, in a world of ecstatic visions. Not only were they inwardly called of God, but sometimes, like Garrettson, they heard the audible voice of the Spirit. The religious Genius of New England had recognized in love the benign sum of all morality; but the doctrine which his followers had obscured with the metaphysics of the will, became with the Methodist a burning impulse. The Quaker had exalted the Inner Light, but what with the disciples of Fox had sunk into an inoffensive quietism, with the disciple of Wesley became the impulse to an unexampled effort. It was estimated that Asbury, during the forty-five years of his untiring ministry, rode a distance that would have taken him twelve times round the earth. When we read the story which one of the early missionaries of Methodism tells of himself, but a story which hundreds, doubtless, might have repeated, "I traversed the mountains and valleys, frequently on foot, with my knapsack on my back, guided by Indian paths in the wilderness where it was not expedient to take a horse; and I had often to wade through morasses half-leg deep in mud and water; frequently satisfying my hunger with a piece of bread and pork from my knapsack, quenching my thirst from a brook, and resting my weary limbs on the leaves of the trees," who does not seem to hear in these words the ring of the verses, "in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst;" and who can doubt that the causes which gave Methodism its early success were the same that first carried the Gospel to Damascus, to Antioch, to Corinth, and to Cesar's palace? As Methodism has exchanged weakness for strength, and poverty for wealth, its outward aspect has greatly altered; the plain meeting-house has become the highly decorated church; the unlettered preacher has learned to emulate the culture which he once held so cheap; colleges and theological schools have been generously endowed, and a powerful periodical press discusses with dignity and erudition doctrines which once struggled for utterance from burning tongues; yet neither learning nor culture were the weapons with which Methodism achieved its early triumphs, and which caused it, in the striking words carved on Philip Embury's tomb, "to beautify the earth with salvation."—Pp. 24–27.

The reactionary quality here so acutely discerned in our history by the liberal reviewer was real. The protest of Methodism against inborn guilt and predestinated damnation

was a *leading* phase of its original character. Equally is its accord and sympathy with what is called, in a high and broad sense, "the great democratic revolt." This is a thought which has often occurred to our own mind, and we believe it susceptible of large development and important deductions. The reviewer seems unaware, however, that our Articles of Faith were received by us from Wesley's own hand, and from them we have not "departed." He makes us also far more untheological than we have ever been. Wesley, and Fletcher, and Clarke, and Bangs, and Fisk met the "nice distinctions" of their opponents with a logic as keen and a theology more profound.

English Reviews.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1876. (London.)—1. Recent Translations of the Greek Testament. 2. The Exploration of Palestine. 3. Leonardo da Vinci and his Works. 4. The New Methodist Hymn Book. 5. The Presbytery in the New Testament. 6. The Royal Visit to India. 7. Robinson's Mother of Jesus not the Papal Mary.

We give from the "London Quarterly Review" for October, 1875, a valuable notice of Darwin's book on "Insectivorous Plants." It may be well read in connection with our notice of Papillon's "Nature and Life."

Mr. Darwin has written no book of more real value and displaying more accurate research than this. The subject until very recently has been a most obscure one; but a most valuable series of facts has been discovered, pre-eminently by Mr. Darwin, but also by Dr. Mellichamp, Dr. Hooker, Mrs. Treat, and Dr. Bennett.

The distinction between plants and animals has never been held by Biologists to be very clear; but under the influence of research it has become gradually more cloudy, until now the last element of difference has melted away, for it can no longer be maintained that plants differ from animals in that the latter assimilate proteinaceous matter already organically prepared, while plants can produce protoplasm and maintain life from inorganic elements. It has recently been shown that animals of a lowly order belonging to the *Paramecea* can live, flourish, and rapidly multiply in a fluid composed only of mineral salts and tartrate of ammonia, and therefore, without the trace of albuminous or organic material; it is true that Professor Huxley believed he had discovered a slimy formless organism in the ooze of the Atlantic, which he named "Bathybius," the vitality and animal nature of which he affirmed;

this, from its utter dissociation from vegetable life at the bottom of the ocean, was supposed to have the power—otherwise only possessed by plants—of elaborating organic compounds out of inorganic materials. But we have maintained more than once in this journal that the Bathybius of Huxley was simply an invital slime resulting from the dissolution of the myriads of minute forms constantly dying and sinking to the bottom, as Professor Huxley now admits. Under the pressure of facts furnished by the scientific men on board the "Challenger" he sees that it is hopeless longer to seek to retain Bathybius in the "animal series." But the fact remains that animals have lived on inorganic elements; and now Mr. Darwin gives us a wonderful series of experiments which demonstrate that plants can and do appropriate and digest for their nutrition animal forms and organized substances. There does not now remain a single feature by which a definition of "Animal" can be given which will not include the vegetable.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the behavior of a little plant known commonly as the Sun-dew, (*Drosera rotundifolia.*) It will be known to most readers that this plant grows in boggy soils, bearing from two to six leaves, which generally extend in a horizontal direction. The leaves are broader than long, and their whole surface is covered with gland-bearing filaments or "tentacles." These tentacles are long, and the glands at their extremities are surrounded by large drops of a clear viscid secretion, to which its name is due.

It has long been known that these leaves entrapped insects; but the reason of this was unknown, or merely guessed at. But by a series of researches extending over years, Mr. Darwin has discovered what he admirably details in this book, that the animals are taken by an apparatus specially prepared for that purpose: that the viscid fluid is a digestive fluid allied to pepsine in its action, and that by a process of true digestion the animals captured are assimilated to the building up of the structure of the plant. The process is remarkable. An insect alights, or creeps upon the glandular part of the leaf; something equivalent to sensation instantly ensues, the tentacles begin at once to curve over upon the imprisoned body, and the process of digestion begins; this may last from one to seven days, when the tentacles re-expand and are once more ready to perform their functions. At first, indeed, Mr. Darwin believed, what Mrs. Treat still maintains, that the plant had a capacity almost equal to the sense of *taste;* for while it would quickly curve its tentacles over a minute piece of beef or mutton or any animal substance, it was quite inoperative when a piece of chalk or glass or any inorganic substance was laid upon it. This, however, is now by our author modified. He affirms after repeated experiments that the effect of inorganic substances upon the action of the tentacles is far less powerful, and that they very shortly release it from their embrace, but they do possess the power of irritation.

One of the marvels of the whole process is the extreme sensi-

tiveness of the glands, and the communication which immediately takes place from tentacle to tentacle. If the gland of only *one* be touched, each of the others (numbering sometimes over two hundred) is aroused to action, and invariably turns its gland upon the spot from whence the communication of sensation arose; while if *two* glands be irritated at the same time, all the tentacles near each will turn to it; thus there will be *two* centers of operation on one leaf; and the precision of the tentacles in directing themselves to the point of irritation is remarkable—indeed, the idea suggested is that of a lowly-organized animal of the class Actinozoa, seizing its prey. More surprising still is the intense susceptibility to irritation exhibited by the glands. Thus a small quantity of a perfectly impalpable powder shaken up in water will by its slow precipitation, if a leaf be inserted in it, cause the inflection of all the tentacles. A particle of thread weighing less than the eight thousandth of a grain, and even a particle of human hair weighing less than the seventy-eight thousandth of a grain, are sufficient to transmit a motor impulse to cause a tentacle to sweep through an angle of over one hundred and eighty degrees. And yet this minute particle is laid on the surface of a *dense fluid* through which the impression has to pass to the gland. Any one may discover for himself how far this sensitiveness surpasses that of some of the most sensitive parts of the human body: a piece of hair, for instance, the fiftieth of an inch—very much larger than the above—if laid on the tongue is perfectly unperceived. Indeed, Mrs. Treat affirms that a fly fastened half an inch away from the leaf of an American species (*D. filiformis*) caused the leaves to bend toward it and reach it in less than an hour and a half. This Mr. Darwin has not confirmed; but the delicate susceptibility of the plant to irritation is proved by him to be astonishing in a very high degree, and this is rendered the more wonderful by the fact that rain-drops falling heavily upon the leaves produce no effect whatever.

Another fact of great moment clearly established is that the glands *absorb* what the fluid digests, and great changes may be seen with the microscope to have taken place in the inclosed protoplasm; while further evidence of true physiological action is seen in the fact that the fluid on the glands which have not been subject to irritation is neutral to tests for acid, while after irritation the fluid has a distinctly acid reaction; and Professor Frankland finds propionic, acetic, and butyric acids indicated. Thus we have in a plant a distinct and perfect digestive process, and a motor apparatus specially for the seizure of prey.

What, however, exceeds in interest all the other facts in the volume is the result of Mr. Darwin's experiments with solutions of salts, acids, and poisons on the leaves. The series employed is very large, the results in every case being of the utmost interest, and a comparison of these must afford profitable and suggestive facts to a generation of philosophical physiologists. Our space will only permit us to examine the results following from the employ-

ment of the salts of ammonia. Solutions were made so that it might be discovered what was the minutest quantity of the dissolved salt that would cause the inflection of the tentacles. It was found as a result that the *one twenty millionth of a grain* of the phosphate of ammonia had the effect, and as the salt contained thirty-five and thirty-three hundredth per cent. of water, the really efficient elements are reduced to *one thirty millionth* of a grain; yet this excited a distinct physiological action and led to a palpable motor impulse—every tentacle being inflected, and sometimes the blade of the leaf itself being curved. This is only one of an immense series of experiments with various solutions, all yielding similar remarkable results. Surely we have here evidence of the physiological susceptibility of organisms to drugs which should be highly suggestive to the medical profession. Since the days of Hahnemann we have heard a great deal of controversy on the physiological action of poisons and drugs, and especially when administered in minute quantities. It is not a question which belongs to any system of medicine, but one materially affecting the whole philosophy of therapeutics. If the thirty millionth of a grain of the *right drug* can produce so powerful a physiological effect upon the glands of *Drosera rotundifolia*, why may not similar physiological effects be produced on the organs of a horse or a man by approximately minute quantities? Surely it is a question for experiment. To found a system of medicine upon "infinitesimal doses" is simply absurd; but to ridicule or ignore the fact that minute quantities of drugs and poisons may have a powerful physiological effect on organs specially susceptible to their action, is, in the face of Mr. Darwin's facts, and, indeed, of many others, a more transcendent absurdity.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the consideration of similar powers possessed by other plants, all of which are full of the deepest interest. Especially is this the case with the plant of the genus *Utricularia* or Bladder-worts of our stagnant ponds and foul ditches. The fine needle-like leaves of this genus bear a number of bladder-like bodies of a minute size, at one end of these there is an opening armed with what appear like tentacles, and the whole appearance when slightly magnified is strangely near to some of the larger *entomostraca*, better known as "water-fleas," common to our ditches and ponds; at the entrance to the bladder there is a valve which can open only inward; by this means minute animals are able to enter but never to escape; and in these small sacs they die and decompose and nourish the plant. For it is a remarkable fact that there is no digestive fluid in the bladders, and no true digestion; it is merely nourishment by decomposition. So we have here two opposite means of securing the same result; in the *Drosera* perfect sensitiveness and power of digestion when an object comes to the leaf; in the *utricularia*, no digestive apparatus proper, but a perfect *trap* to lure and catch prey.—Pp. 256–260.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1876. (London.)—1. Church History: Its Scope and Relations. 2. The Temperance Bible Commentary. 3. The Spirits in Prison and the Sons of God. 4. The Science of Religion and Christian Missions. 5. The Protestant Doctrine of Evangelical Perfection. 6. Ultramontanism in France. 7. Tischendorf and Tregelles as Editors of the Greek New Testament. 8. On the Name Jehovah (Jahve) and the Doctrine of Exodus iii, 14. 9. Soundness and Freedom in Theology.

This Review is the able and erudite organ of the Free Church of Scotland, the Church of Chalmers and Cunningham, and is, perhaps, the most trenchantly Calvinistic quarterly in Europe. We give the following book notice of a work by Edward White, entitled "Life in Christ," written in support of the doctrine of "conditional immortality," or annihilationism, on account of the unexpected semi-acceptance of that doctrine which the learned Calvinist expresses. This, together with a similar notice, which we give below, of the same work by the "British Quarterly," in addition to an extract on a similar topic given in our last number from that able organ of the English Independents, reveals to us the present eschatological views of the dissenting British denominations hitherto Calvinistic. The Independents will not endure the preaching of the doctrine of endless misery, and incline to the theory of an after-death probation. The Scotch Calvinists do not seem to reject the orthodox view, but do not object to annihilationism instead.

We may note that the former of these two developments is a revival of essential Origenism, which received the explicit condemnation of the Church. The doctrine of "conditional immortality" was taught by Athanasius, the great champion of Trinitarian orthodoxy, but, in spite of his great authority, it seems to have spontaneously died out.

This, though bearing the same title as a work published by the same author thirty years ago, is, he assures us, almost entirely new. It advocates the theory of the ultimate annihilation of the lost, in place of the common view of their eternal existence in misery, though it is not at all confined to that point, but treats in connection with it the whole subject of the nature of man in the light of science and of Scripture. The positions that he maintains are: that while science and philosophy afford a presumption that the soul of man survives the death of the body, they give no evidence of the eternal existence of all human souls; that Scripture teaches that man was created by God, consisting of body and soul capable of immortality, but not actually endowed with it; that the punishment threatened for disobedience was the extinction of the complex existence, while the reward of obedience

would have been immortality; that the threatening, however, was not executed, because mercy interposed to offer that forfeited immortality, through the incarnation of the Redeemer; that through regeneration believers are united to Christ, and become partakers of endless life and blessedness in him; that bodily death is the original penalty of sin, inflicted in such a way as allow the continued life and blessedness of believers, and to secure the identity of unbelievers, who are to be raised for judgment at the last day; and that the second death, which is the punishment of rejection of the Gospel, consists in the final destruction, through sufferings more or less intense, of conscious life. These positions are illustrated and discussed in a very reverent and evangelical tone, and with considerable ability and a scholarly knowledge of Scripture, so that the successive chapters present the reader with much that is interesting and suggestive. *It is refreshing to find the question of eternal punishment treated in this comprehensive way*, with a view to its bearing on the general system of theology, and not, as it too often is, in an isolated manner, as if it could be decided without any regard to the general principles of Christianity. In this general aspect, *the chief thing that seems objectionable* in Mr. White's theory is, that he makes an essential distinction between the second death and the first, holding that the second death is the penalty only of rejection of the Gospel, not of disobedience to the law. This requires the assumption of a universal proclamation of the Gospel, and leads to the idea of an offer of salvation being made in the spirit-world to those who have not had it here; an *idea for which we can see no warrant* in Scripture. *As to the question of annihilation itself, it is not one of very great importance.* The theory advocated in this book *does not*, like that of universal restitution, *require us to alter the proper notion of punishment*, and regard it as disciplinary, and not retributive. It does not, therefore, infringe upon the great scriptural doctrines of the moral government of God and the sacrifice of Christ. Indeed, Mr. White's statements on the atonement and justification are very good and valuable. *Nor does his theory lead to such forced and unnatural interpretations of Scripture* as that of restitution needs. It is a question of altogether subordinate importance that is raised by it. Undoubtedly the theory of annihilation, if it could be established by satisfactory evidence, would remove some of the difficulties that must be felt in the doctrine of eternal punishment by those who are constrained to believe it, as well as those who reject it. The question is one of Scripture interpretation, and may be calmly discussed on that ground. Mr. White is, however, apt to attach too great importance to the relief which his view would give, and sometimes he seems to argue unfairly against the common belief, and to reason on principles that would carry him much further than he desires. Upon any view of this solemn subject at all consistent with Scripture, there are mental and moral difficulties in the face of which we can only fall back on our faith in the perfect justice and goodness of God; and it seems better, on the

whole, at once and frankly to do that, than to attempt to remove all difficulties, and thus more fully than our present light will allow, to vindicate the ways of God to man.—Pp. 202, 203.

British Quarterly Review, January 1, 1875. (London.)—1. Herbert Spencer's Sociology. 2. Among the Prophets. 3. The Hindu Woman, Real and Ideal. 4. Servia. 5. The Stock Exchange and Foreign Loans. 6. Disestablishment in New England. 7. Political Questions in Italy.

From the very full notice of White's book on "Life in Christ," to which allusion is elsewhere made, we extract three passages:—

It ought then to be understood that Mr. White offers us in his closely-printed volume of nearly six hundred pages an entire scheme of biblical psychology and a system of Christian theology. The argument becomes an exposition of the whole doctrine of Scripture on the Nature of Man and the objects of the Divine Incarnation, as well as the conditions of Human Immortality. Let not our readers be repelled by this representation of the drift of the volume. The style and treatment are often vivacious, and even fascinating. The numberless topics are marshaled with consummate ease and arranged with artistic skill. The various links in the chain of argument are forged and riveted each in its right place, and though some of them burn with intensity and coruscate as they lie, they are often carved, and even decorated, with a masterly hand. Whether the author is right or wrong, and his ideas true or false, his logic is not only on fire, but it blazes and leaps with prophetic fervor, and is clearly the work of a great moral nature consciously to itself in harmony with the truth of things.

Mr. White does not sympathize with those who see no hint or hope of "future life" in the Old Testament. He finds these hints throughout the books, tracing them from Daniel back to Moses. Though "the death penalty" of the Theocracy meant, according to our author, death, and not "eternity of suffering," he does find therein both the future punishment of the wicked and the idea of resurrection. But he takes every passage which has been supposed to suggest *eternal* torment, and powerfully argues that in their obvious meaning they convey no such idea. Our author is, however, compelled to allow that the Pharisees at the time of Christ included in their *oral* tradition the doctrine of the "immortality of the soul;" and he claims to throw light on the relation between them and the Sadducees, and on the way in which our Lord answered their queries and mediated between them. He seems to us to fail in the right interpretation of this difficult question. He has not taken sufficient notice of the opposing tendencies of thought on this subject apart from tradition, as seen in the "Wisdom of Solomon," and of the Son of Sirach; nor does he refer sufficiently to the extent to which, in Philo and the Book of Henoch, the clear belief in the spirituality and continuity of the soul

of man is evinced. From whatever source derived, whether from heathen philosophies or personal intuitions, our Lord appears to us to vindicate the doctrine of the *resurrection* by appealing to a more fundamental conception, namely, that of the survival of the soul, denied by the Sadducees, but without which it is almost impossible to think it. To prove that the dead *rise* our Lord drew from the language of God to Moses an indication of the continued "life" of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As though he had said, You, Sadducees, ought not to repudiate the "anastasis," if from the sacred volume to which you appeal there is enough to sweep away your main materialistic objection to the idea of such "anastasis." . . .

The author then proceeds to the New Testament doctrine of the "second death," and though in the early chapters of the work Mr. White has stigmatized, by choice quotation, the terrible views of Jonathan Edwards and others, we think that his conception of the final doom of the impenitent after the almost boundless looking for of judgment, is almost more crushing and bewildering to conscience. He even reverts, with terrible earnestness, to the doctrine of physical burning—the newly constituted body being made capable of prolonged agony unto ultimate extinction in these electric flames. However, having reached this point, he enters very largely into the proof of the terminable nature of these burnings, and the ultimate annihilation of sin and death in this judgment of Almighty God.

This discussion is very powerful, but it would very largely apply to the annihilation of sinners in *Hades* and at death. Some of the great texts, like Matthew xxv, 46, are debated at much length, and very plausibly explained in harmony with the general theory. The author tries to show that the whole doctrine of endless suffering arose in the third century, when Christianity was inoculated by Alexandrine metaphysics; and the priesthood, in lawless and persecuting times, found it of immense service in overawing the impatient and rebellious.—Pp. 279, 281–284.

It will be seen from this last passage that the reviewer bases a hope of future restoration of all men on the immortality of the soul and the work of Christ.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KÖSTLIN. 1876. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. GRIMM, The Nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor. 2. OHL, The Three Usual Questions at our Rite of Infant Baptism. 3. NÖSGEN, The Plan of the Author of the Third Gospel. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. MÖNCKEBERG, The Credibility of Luther's Sayings at Worms. 2. MULLER, Melanchthon's Autograph of the *Loci Communes* in the German Language. *Reviews:* 1. RITSCHL, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement, reviewed by SCHMIDT. 2. ROCHOLL, The Real Presence, etc., reviewed by HERRMANN. 3. RIEHM, The Messianic Prophecies, reviewed by the author himself.

The nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor has long been a literary controversy between French and Germans. In this question the latter have, however, been far from being as unanimous as in the great war of 1870, and the attempt to annex the "old Galatians," to whom St. Paul addressed one of his epistles, to the German nationality, appears to be a complete failure. Here we have one of the prominent German theologians, Professor Grimm of Jena, who not only admits the Keltic origin of the Galatians, but adduces a wonderful array of facts to refute the arguments of his opponents. His proofs, indeed, appear to be unanswerable; and if the chances of reconquering Alsace and Lorraine should become, as it seems, more and more unfavorable, the French may find some consolation in the fact that their German opponents declare themselves beaten in the fight about the Galatians. Professor Grimm gives us some amusing details in the history of this controversy, and on the interest which German and French patriotism have taken in it. It is a notable fact that while at present no prominent German representative of classic philology or archæology, no "Keltist" or "Germanist," ever thinks of regarding these Galatians as Germans, a large number of distinguished German theologians persist in claiming them as compatriots. Among those who are foremost among the advocates of this theory are Hug, Olshausen, Baumgarten-Crusius, Rückert, Wieseler, and Hilgenfeld. Wieseler rejoices that "the Galatians are really the first German people to whom the Gospel was announced." Baumgarten-Crusius thinks that "from a national point of view these apostolical congregations are nearest to us Germans." Olshausen regards it as a very significant fact that it was "the German Luther who recognized in this epistle addressed to Germans the essence of the Gospel,

and brought it to light." Meyer, though he regards only the third part of the Galatians as Germans, begins the Church history of Germany with the conversion of the Galatians. Another German theologian, Sieffert, regrets that impartial science cannot recognize those Galatians as Germans, since it would have been "so flattering for us to know the Apostle Paul to be the founder of our German Church, and to have among the writings of the New Testament an epistle to our German ancestors." He consoles himself with the consideration that Kelts and Germans were neighbors, and in prehistoric times constituted in Asia one people. "Strange religious national illusion," says Professor Grimm, "because, even if those Galatians, who subsequently were absorbed by foreign nationalities and disappeared, had been Germans, no drop of their blood would flow in our veins. Strange appendix to a Church history of Germany which lacks every local as well as temporal continuity with the real Church history of our nation." On the French side, Charles Texier, in his essay, *Les Gaulois en Asie*, (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1841,) says, "We cannot recall without a feeling of national pride that the Gauls have left in this country imperishable reminiscences." Before entering upon the controversy itself, Professor Grimm takes occasion to state, that by the "Galatia" mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi, 1; Gal. i, 2) he understands the ancient territory of that name, which was also called *Gallogræcia*, and was bounded by Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Bithynia, and not the Roman province of Galatia, which, besides Galatia proper, contained large portions of the neighboring provinces, especially of Lycaonia. This is the common opinion of the European theologians, and the only recent defenders of the opposite view are Rénan (in his work on Paul) and Hausrath, (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. ii,) who contend that "the Churches of Galatia" to which the Pauline epistle was addressed must be looked for in the Lycaonian towns of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, near Pissidia. After briefly refuting the arguments adduced in favor of this construction of the word Galatia, the author at length discusses the question whether the Galatians were Germans or Kelts. The principal points in his argumentation are as follows: 1. The Tectozagi, a tribe of Galatia, which has

been claimed as being of the German nationality, were really Kelts, not Germans. 2. All the passages in ancient writers that refer to the nationality of the Galatians represent them as Gauls or Kelts. Strabo, who was a native of Amasea, in Pontus, not far from the borders of Galatia, shows himself well acquainted with the difference between Kelts and Germans, and expressly classifies the Galatians among the former. 3. The proper names of Galatian chieftains and towns seem to be of Keltic rather than German origin. The ending *orix*, which is found in so many proper names occurring in Cæsar, is also common in Galatian proper names. 4. The testimony of St. Jerome, that the Galatians spoke about the same language as the people in the neighborhood of Treves, cannot be adduced in favor of the German nationality of the Galatians, as it is highly probable that at the time of Jerome the language in the vicinity of Treves was Keltic. 5. Great stress had been laid by Wieseler on the fact that in Galatia justice was dispensed by the princes, as among the Germans, and not by the priests, (Druids,) as among the Gauls, and that this point constituted one of the chief differences between Germans and Gauls. Against this argument it is argued that the hierarchical institute of the Druids is only found in Great Britain and Gaul proper, but cannot be traced in other Keltic countries, and that its organism was too complex to be suited for the unsteady migrations which were undertaken for adventurous and plundering purposes, not for finding permanent settlements.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne. (Christian Review.) November, 1875.—1. Pressensé, Apologetic Studies. Second Series. The Supernatural in God. (Third Article.) 2. Cadene, The Correspondence of Lamartine. 3. Hollard, Augustin Cochin. 4. Pressensé, A Novel Interpretation of the Decisions of the Synod of the Reformed Church.

December, 1875.—1. H. S. Stanley's Funeral Sermons in Honor of Charles Kingsley. 2. Mouron, The New Social Philosophy. 3. Massebieau, Mathurin Cordier. 4. Lichtenberger, Review of German Affairs.

January, 1876.—1. Bersier, A Vision of St. Paul. 2. Mouron, The New Social Philosophy. (Second Article.) 3. Sabatier, Father Hyacinthe. (First Article.) 4. Sorel, The Musical Drama. 5. Frank Puaux, The Future of Catholic Nations.

The *Revue Chretienne* has entered with the number of January, 1876, upon the twenty-third year of its publication. In

announcing the new volume the editors say: "It is not necessary for the *Revue Chretienne* to publish a prospectus. Our principles are known. They are comprised in the old formula: the Gospel and Liberty. From this double stand-point it will review the movements of contemporaneous thought in the Church and in the world, always seeking not what is pleasing to cliques and to sects, but what is conformable to the great principles of Christian Liberalism." The Review will continue to be edited by Pressensé and Sabatier, who will alternate in writing the "monthly review of events." M. Lichtenberger will furnish every other month an article on the affairs of Germany. Among the articles which will appear in the course of the year 1876 we notice the following: Pressensé, "Apologetic Studies," "Christian Family Worship in the Second and Third Centuries," "The Revival Preaching of Pearsall Smith;" Sabatier, "Father Hyacinthe" (two articles;) Ernest Naville, "The Pedagogical Question;" Adrien E. Naville, "The Emperor Julian;" F. Bonifas, "Ancient Protestant Preaching;" Bonnet, "Some Recollections of the Last Days of Augustin Thierry;" R. Reuss, "Savonarola."

The *Revue Chretienne* is generally regarded as the ablest exponent of French Protestantism; and as the foregoing list of articles indicates, it expects to discuss during the present year a number of interesting articles.

Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

The "German Mercury," the principal organ of the Old Catholics of Germany, in a review of the movement during the year 1875, states that most of the congregations and societies have considerably increased during the year. Two new societies have been organized in Prussia, five in Baden, and two in Hesse. Nowhere has the progress been so great as in the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Government of this country regulated the legal relations of the Old Catholics in 1874, by fully recognizing them as members of the Catholic Church, and securing to them a proportionate part of the Catholic Church property. In accordance with the provisions of the new law, the Old Catholics of Baden have received, in twenty-one places, the simultaneous use of a Catholic

Church; in twelve places, one or two ecclesiastical benefices; and in three places the administration of the property of the Church. In Wurtemburg, the separation of the Old Catholics from the Roman Catholic Church has been delayed, in consequence of the conciliatory and compromising attitude of Bishop Hefele; but it is expected that this kingdom will soon furnish a considerable contingent to the number of Old Catholic congregations.

A great sensation has been caused among the Old Catholics by the publication of a new work by Professor Schulte, the lay-leader of the entire movement in favor of abolishing priestly celibacy. Motions for the introduction of this reform were made at the Old Catholic Synods of 1874 and 1875, but all the prominent members of the Synod, the laymen as well as the priests, deemed it expedient to take immediate action on the subject. Schulte promised to the advocates of the reform that he would thoroughly study the whole question from the stand-point of Church law, and as the fruit of these studies he has now published a work entitled, *Der Cœlibatszwang und dessen Aufhebung*, ("Compulsory Celibacy and its Abolition.") Schulte is generally regarded as one of the most learned writers on all questions of Church law, and his new work is believed to be the best ever published on the subject. Bishop Reinkens and the professors of Old Catholic Theology at the University of Bonn are believed to be unfavorably disposed in regard to the immediate abolition of celibacy; but the feeling among the laity, and, it is believed, also among the clergy, is believed to be overwhelmingly in favor of it. Under these circumstances the action of the next Annual Synod is looked forward to with considerable interest.

In Austria the majority of the House of Deputies adopted the draft of a law which recognizes the Old Catholics, and fully regulates their legal relations; but the House of Lords refused to concur in this law. The Government, however, though it has done every thing that is within its power to prevent the spread of the reformatory movement, has declared that hereafter the Old Catholics of Austria, even if they do not want to separate explicitly from the Catholic Church, will no longer be prevented from organizing congregations, and that the validity of the marriages concluded by them will be recognized.

In Switzerland the Christian Catholic congregations were, in February, on the eve of an election of a bishop. As the Federal Constitution makes the establishment of new bishoprics dependent upon the consent of the Confederation, the Synodal Council of the Old Catholics has formally inquired of the Federal Council at Berne whether there is any objection on its part to the election of an Old Catholic bishop. As soon as the Federal Council has sanctioned the proposed step, the Synodal Council will meet at Olten to proceed to the election of a bishop.

Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The number of German theological periodicals will receive this year a very valuable addition by the establishment of a "Journal for Church History," (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*) It will be edited by Dr. Brieger, Professor of Church History at the University, and he will be assisted in his editorial labors by three of the most prominent theological writers of Germany, Dr. W. Gass, Dr. Hermann Reuter, and Dr. Albert Ritschl. Within its scope will be embraced the history of the Christian Church and the history of Christian doctrines, in their entire extent, inclusive of the history of Christian civilization, the archæology of Christian art, monumental theology, ecclesiastical geography, and statistics. The larger portion of its space will be devoted to scientific investigations, but it will also give essays; critical reviews, intended to show both the progress of the science of Church history and the gaps of investigation; short communications on new discoveries of manuscripts and monuments; statistical notes, etc. The editor announces that the new journal will also bring articles from the most prominent representatives of political history.

Another theological periodical has been recently established by Dr. Schürer, Professor of Theology at Leipzic. It is called *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, and, as its title indicates, intends to give a critical review of all new theological publications appearing in Germany. It will also give the contents of all the theological periodicals of Germany.

The number of papers professedly Roman Catholic, published in 1875, in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight. Of these, fifty-eight were published in foreign languages—Polish, Magyar, Czechic, French, Italian, etc., the remainder in German. Of those three hundred and sixty-eight organs of Roman Catholic belief, forty-four belonged to Switzerland, seventy-six to Austria and Hungary, and two hundred and forty-eight to Germany. It is interesting to compare these figures with the Roman Catholic population of the three countries, which, according to the latest official enumeration, was, in Switzerland, one million; in Austria and Hungary, twenty-three million; and in Germany, sixteen million. Thus there appeared in Switzerland one periodical for every twenty-three thousand Roman Catholics; in Austria, one for every three hundred thousand; and in Germany, one for every sixty-five thousand. Of the periodicals of Germany, one hundred and thirty-eight are published in Prussia, seventy-two in Bavaria, fourteen in Baden, ten in Wurtemburg, and the remainder in the minor States. Fully one half of all the three hundred and sixty-eight organs are political newspapers: among them are forty large-sized dailies. The largest circulation (sixty thousand) of any Roman Catholic paper is the *Alte und Neue Welt*, an illustrated monthly, pub-

lished simultaneously in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, and in New York. Among the political newspapers, the *Neue Augsburger Zeitung*, with eleven thousand subscribers, takes the lead. The circulation of the literary papers is very small.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By Christoph Ernst Luthardt, Professor of Theology at Leipzig, Author of "Apologetical Lectures on the Fundamental," etc. Revised, Translated, and the Literature much Enlarged, by Caspar Rene Gregory, Leipzig. 8vo., pp. 369. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $3 75.

The problem of John's authorship, however little it has disturbed theological thought in this country, has produced a large library of discussion in Europe. The enumeration of the titles of books on the subject, from Evanson, the Englishman, to Luthardt, requires a hundred of these octavo pages. This is not so much from the fact that the authenticity and historical character is, in comparison with the other gospels, specially doubtful; but because the demonstration of its historic value is very decisive of the truth of the Christ history. Yet there are grave queries in the discussion. A glance at any Gospel Harmony reveals the fact that John runs a very independent career, his column being very apt to be full when the others are blank, and *vice versa*. With equal clearness his Jesus discourses in a far more transcendent and mystical strain than the synoptical Jesus. He banishes parables and demoniacs from his narrative. His miracles are few, and seem to serve very much as pegs on which to hang long and highly allegorical discourses. Jesus and the Baptist discourse very much in one style, and that the style of John himself. And, then, how can we suppose that works so diverse as the Gospel and the Apocalypse should come from the same pen? To all lovers of such discussion Luthardt's volume will be a very rich enjoyment.

Our author first states logically and historically the issue as it stands. He then gives the rich masses of existing testimony, first from within the Church, and then from without. Next, as John's Ephesian residence has been with desperate audacity questioned, he very conclusively settles that point. He next compares the Johannine with the Synoptical Gospels, and shows the perfect harmony amid variation between them. A very acute discussion of John's authorship of the Apocalypse essentially closes the book.

We esteem the volume a very masterly defense of the traditional view of the Church. It is written with great erudition and logical force, and with a clear, direct conciseness very unusual in German theology.

We have more than once noticed the fact that the main battle of New Testament authenticity lies in the fifty years following the death of St. John, at close of first century. Adverse criticism maintains that the Gospels are not conclusively mentioned with their authors before the middle of the second century. It is the first half of the second century that must be lost or won. Now to bridge over this half century, from John to Irenæus, we have the following aids: 1. The very mention of the Gospels, or Epistles, as found at the middle of the second century, throws the evidence back into the first half. For the writers not only place the New Testament books in the supreme place of authority, but they assume that they have always had that place, and are in most instances unaware that the place had ever been disputed. Their testimony, therefore, truly covers the first half century. 2. This is powerfully confirmed by the versions of the canon made about the same time or earlier essentially agreeing, in languages so differing as the Latin and Syriac, and localities so distant as Rome, Africa, and Syria. Books so spontaneously and accordantly selected, with so little possible concert, must have a unique and undisputed authority back to the very beginning. 3. How that authority took form at the beginning we learn from the fact of their public reading, when first published, in the Sunday service of the Christian Churches, as appears both from the New Testament itself and the testimony of Justin Martyr, whose life covers the first half of the second century. 4. The succession of bishops. "The Church reading," says Luthardt, "and also the tradition, are connected with the institution of the episcopacy. Tertullian, for example, goes back to the episcopal succession for John's authorship of Revelation." "The order of bishops traced back to the beginning will stand for John as its author." 5. Quotations obviously from the New Testament to be found in the Apostolic Fathers. Thus we shall see, by a full expansion of this argument, that the first fifty years is bridged over with a conclusiveness rivaled by no other ancient documents.

Very few German critics dare attribute both the Gospel and the Apocalypse to the same John. Schleiermacher and his school conceded to John the Gospel and denied him the Apocalypse; while Baur and his school conceded Apocalypse and denied Gos-

pel; and Keim and Scholten deny him both. On the grammatical, lexical, and theological argument Luthardt makes many very acute remarks. The apocalyptic violations of Greek grammar are plainly committed intentionally, as forcible solecisms. Many occult identities of style may be traced in both books, betraying the same author. And as to style, that of the Gospel is John's natural style, that of the Apocalypse is chosen and artificial. "The author was not accustomed to speak and to write thus, for men do not speak and write so for common things. The language of the writer of the Revelation is not a natural but an adopted form, conditioned less by the individuality of the writer than by the material, and by the apocalyptic genus of his prophetic discourse. He could speak and write otherwise."

Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Textum ad fidem codicum et graecorum et latinorum adhibitis praestantissimis editionibus recensuerunt, commentario exegetico et historico illustraverunt, apparatu critico, versione latina passim correcta, prolegomenis indicibus instruxerunt O. de GEBHARDT, AD. HARNACK, TH. ZAHN. Editio post Dresselianam alteram tertia, Fasc I. Pp. 340. Leipzig. 1875.

This is the first part of what promises to be the *Editio Optima* of the Apostolic Fathers. The writings of these ancient fathers are not only interesting in themselves as relics of the early Christian Church, but are also of the first importance in the critical study of the New Testament. They serve as important witnesses in the settlement of the New Testament canon, and furnish a connecting link between the inspired Scriptures and the Christian Apologists of the second century. "The Apostolic Fathers," says Pressensé, "are not to be regarded as great writers, but as great historic characters. They preserved the treasure of evangelical doctrine, without themselves fully knowing all it contained. They accept the great principles laid down in the previous period by St. Paul and St. John. There is no collision of hostile parties, no stormy discussion is raised; but there are, nevertheless, very distinct shades of doctrine variously coloring the faith in Christ, which is held in common by all. On the one hand we have Pauline doctrine represented by Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp. The teaching of Polycarp bears also the distinct impress of the spirit of St. John, whose immediate disciple he was. On the other hand, the idealistic symbolism of the Epistle to the Hebrews is carried to the verge of Gnosticism by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Lastly, Papias and the writer of the allegory of the Pastor revive, if not the views, at least the principles, of Judæo-Christianity."

A good critical edition of the writings of these fathers is indispensable to the theological scholar. That of Cotelerius (2 vols., folio, Paris, 1672; Amsterdam, 1724) has a permanent interest and value peculiar to itself. Later useful editions are Russell's, (Lond., 1746,) Jacobson's, (Oxford, 1840,) and Hefele's, (Tubingen, 1855.) But all these were superseded by the second edition of A. R. M. Dressel, (Leipsic, 1863,) which contains the Greek text of the Shepherd of Hermas and of the Epistle of Barnabas from Tischendorf's famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. This edition of Dressel has been for some time exhausted, and is yet in great demand. Dressel's loss of sight, and the death of Tischendorf, who was to have assisted in supervising a new edition; the securing of new editors, and the time required for them to prepare their work, all explain why this revised and enlarged edition of a work in such great demand has not appeared till now.

Since the publication of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, in 1859, scholars have bestowed new and more thorough study upon the works of these ancient fathers. Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and Müller have studied to establish the true text of the Epistle of Barnabas. Hilgenfeld has also critically revised the Greek text of the Shepherd of Hermas, and published an ancient Latin interpretation of the same, with a copious critical apparatus. Cureton, Petermann, Zahn, and others, have bestowed much critical labor upon the controverted Ignatian Epistles; and Tischendorf, Hilgenfeld, and Lightfoot have done the same for the Epistles of Clement. Donaldson, Holtzmann, Lipsius, and Weizsäcker have expounded the theology of the Apostolic Fathers. The editors of the present work propose to appropriate the fruits of these and other men's labors, and also to add to all largely out of the results of their own independent study. And yet, in grateful acknowledgment of the services of that distinguished scholar, they publish their work as the *third* edition of Dressel.

The work is to be issued in three divisions or *fasciculi*. The second is under the sole care of Zahn, who has made the Epistles of Ignatius a special study. The first and third are in charge of Gebhardt and Harnack; the one supervising the text and describing the *codices* and editions used, the other preparing the commentary, and discussing the dates and authorship of the several books. The first *fasciculus* contains the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistles of Clement of Rome, in Greek and Latin. Also an Appendix containing the Fragments of Papias, (partly in Greek, partly in Latin,) the remains of the ancient presbyters preserved

in the writings of Irenæus, (mostly in Latin,) and the Epistle of Diognetus, in Greek. These are accompanied with ample *prolegomena* and notes, furnishing at once a complete critical apparatus of no small extent, an exegetical and historical commentary, with abundant citations from the ante-Nicene Fathers, and full indices of Greek words, and of all passages of the Old and New Testament quoted or referred to by the Apostolic Fathers. It is to be hoped the remaining parts will be as thoroughly done, and issued at no distant day. M. S. T.

St. Clement of Rome. The two Epistles to the Corinthians. A revised Text with Introduction and Notes. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 220. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

This volume is a part of an intended edition of the Apostolic Fathers in elegant Greek type, with rich and copious notes. Dr. Lightfoot is one of the most accomplished patristical and New Testament scholars in England. This is evinced by his splendid edition of Galatians, of Philippians and Colossians. His eminent mastery of the Apostolic Fathers has lately been nobly employed in refuting the very able attack upon the authenticity of the Gospels by the author of "Supernatural Religion," noticed in a late number of our Quarterly. His articles upon Papias, Polycarp, and Ignatius, in the "Contemporary Review," are the ablest we have read upon the subject. And we call the attention of those among us who are uttering unwise tirades against the earliest post-biblical literature of the Christian Church, that it is just in that field that the battle of the New Testament canon is to be fought. If the immediately post-apostolic leaders of Christian thought were simpletons and rogues, if their remains are of dubious authenticity and value, then the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels are unsustainable, and must in all honesty be surrendered.

Earliest, and in some respects most valuable, is the first Epistle of Clement, said to be, by the earliest Church historians, Bishop of Rome. It was written as from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth. It seems to indicate that at that time Rome had a super-presbyterial bishop, and Corinth had none. Clement was contemporary with the later life of the Apostle John, and was worthy of an apostolic respect. The epistle was read in its turn in the Sunday service of the Church of Corinth. The only surviving copy was bound up at the end of a codex of the New Testa-

ment books. His Greek is fair, yet tinged throughout with a strong biblical coloring. Its style is hortatory, and it was unquestionably, as suited to its time and purpose, a powerful exhortation to peace and holiness. But the fatal offense of Clement, which supposedly impeaches his intellect and places him among the "weak-headed," is his belief in the real existence in a far distant country of a bird called the phœnix, and his using it as an emblem of the resurrection. That is, he believed in the Zoology current in his day, and borrowed an illustration from it. Such an offense found in the writings of Plato would never have been quoted against Plato. Turretine is none the less held a standard in Calvinistic theology, because his great work contains a powerful chapter abolishing the antipodes. Wesley was not the less positively called "the greatest of theological statesmen," because he wrote a "Primitive Physic." Watson's "Institutes" is still great divinity, although it adopts Grenville Penn's cosmogony. Fletcher's "Appeal," outraging all the doctrines of geology, is not yet removed from our course of study. And we submit that these objections to Clement impeach no intellect unless it be that of the objector.

We give some extracts from Dr. Lightfoot's note on Clement's "Phœnix":—

The earliest mention of the phœnix is in Hesiod, (Tragm. 50 ed. Gaisf.,) who, however, speaks merely of its longevity. It is from Herodotus (ii, 73) that we first hear the marvelous story of the burial of the parent bird by the offspring, as it was told him by the Egyptian priests; but he adds cautiously by "telling things not credible to me." From the Greeks the story passed to the Romans. In B. C. 97 a learned senator, Manilius, (Plin., N. H., 10, 2,) discoursed at length on the phœnix, stating that the year in which he wrote was the two hundred and fifteenth since its last appearance. He was the first Roman who took up the subject. At the close of the reign of Tiberius—A. D. 36, according to Pliny (following Cornelius Valerianus) and Dion Cassius, (58, 27,) but A. D. 34, as Tacitus reports the date—the marvelous bird was said to reappear in Egypt. The truth of the statement, however, was questioned by some, as less than two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the reign of the third Ptolemy when it was seen last. (Tac., Ann., 6, 28.) But the report called forth many learned disquisitions from *savants* in Egypt, both native and Greek.

The main feature of the account seems to have been very generally believed by the Romans. Thus Mela, (3, 8,) who seemed to have flourished in the reign of Claudius, repeats the marvelous story without any expression of misgiving. Pliny indeed declines to pronounce whether it is true or not, ("haud scio an fabulose;") but Tacitus says no doubt is entertained of the existence of such a bird, though the account is in some points uncertain or exaggerated. Again Ælian, (Hist. An., 6. 58,) who lived in Hadrian's reign, alleges the phœnix as an instance of the superiority of brute instinct over human reason, when a bird can thus reckon the time and discover the place without any guidance; and somewhere about the same time, or later, Celsus, (Origen c. Cels., 4, 78, 1, p. 576,) arguing against the Christians, brings it forward to show the greater piety of the lower animals as compared with man.

It thus appears that Clement is not more credulous than the most learned and intelligent heathen writers of the preceding and following generations.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. With a New Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast, and Author of "Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus." 8vo., pp. 694. Andover: W. F. Draper. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1875. Price, $4.

We have noticed the former exegetical volumes of Dr. Murphy with high commendation, and the present publication well sustains his reputation. Fifty pages are devoted to the Introduction. Its topics include the Place, Titles, and Nature of the Psalms. On this last he is fresh and copious. A critical identification then follows of the various musical instruments named as accompaniments of the chant of the psalms. The author's themes and arrangement of the psalms form the subject of three fine chapters. Under the head of *themes* he maintains the usual Messianic applications with great acuteness and learning. The translations, with a skillful use of typography, give a striking clearness to the varying current of thought in the single psalm. Many a psalm familiar to the reader acquires new beauty as a sacred lyric from a freshened transparency of meaning.

An Address on Supposed Miracles. Delivered Monday, September 20, 1875, before the New York Preachers' Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. J. M. BUCKLEY. 12mo., pp. 54. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1875.

It is not necessary to burden ourselves with a universal negative by affirming that no supernaturalisms take place at the present day. But it is demanded, both by Christianity and science, that any alleged supernaturalisms should stand the tests of a rigid and critical examination. This chapter of evidences has been amply discussed in such works as Douglas's "Criteria of Miracles," summarized in Paley. Mr. Buckley has, therefore, done a good work in bringing the tests to bear upon an actual case, and he has done it well. Such a discussion is valuable in clearing the moral atmosphere, and dividing off sincere, but dangerous, credulity from rational faith.

Bible Lands. Their Modern Customs and Manners. Illustrative of Scripture. By Rev. HENRY J. VAN LENNEP, D.D. With Maps and Wood-cuts. 8vo., pp. 832. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Dr. Van Lennep has spent near a life-time in the East, and is, therefore, eminently qualified to give us a picture of the Orient true to life. His volume is comprehensive in its extent, popular in style, and with its plentiful pictorial illustrations gives a vivid impress of the "Bible Lands." The objects and ways of the Orientals, reproducing as they do the realities of long centuries ago, are a wonderful commentary and confirmation of Scripture. All im-

portant it is that they should all be gathered and placed on record; for that powerful missionary of change, the locomotive, is rapidly going forth to renew the face of the earth, and construct upon it the institutions of the new age.

Infant Baptism briefly Considered. By Rev. N. DOANE, of the Oregon Conference. 24mo., pp. 157. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1875.

This little manual deserves circulation, both as placing infant baptism, as we think, on the right impregnable ground, and as conducive to the uniform adoption of the holy rite among our people. The ground is the justified condition of the child through Christ, whereby he is entitled to receive, according to our articles, "the outward sign of the inward grace." Just because every child born into the world has the "inward grace" through Christ, which by mere nature he cannot have, he is entitled to the "outward sign." When this doctrine—the doctrine of Fletcher, Fisk, and Olin—is properly understood and *felt*, our people will ever be earnest to consecrate their children to God in God's own appointed way.

A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. By CH. ED. CASPARI. From the original German work, revised by the Author. Illustrated with Additional Notes by MAURICE J. EVANS, B. A. With Map of the Scene of our Lord's Labors, and Plan of Jerusalem. 8vo., pp. 313. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876. Special American Edition by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York. Price, $4 50.

The specialty of this Commentary is its entire devotion to the successive points of chronology and geography occurring in our Lord's life. The latest authorities are traced, and the discussions are conducted with thorough erudition and critical acuteness. The evidential results are very important. Accuracy in points of time and place are great proof of accuracy in points of fact. The gospel narrative is history, with historic dates and place, not myth hanging in the air.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th. D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hanover. Translated from the fourth edition of the German, by Rev. JOHN C. MOORE, B.A. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKINSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. 8vo., pp. 483. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. American Edition, New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $3.

We have in former numbers of our Quarterly expressed our high estimate of this Commentary. We need only chronicle the rapid advance which brings out the present volume.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Heredity: a Psychological Study of its Phenomena, Laws, Causes, and Consequences. From the French of Th. Ribot. Author of "Contemporary English Psychology." Pp. 393. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

For the present prevalence of the word *heredity* we are indebted to Herbert Spencer; but the fact and the doctrine it designates are both as old, at least, as the record that Adam begat a son in his own likeness. Christian theology assumes the fact as a basis; and some sects in Christian theology have exaggerated its influence beyond the assertions of Scripture and intuitive common sense. Ribot's book is a very rich and readable collection of the "phenomena" and "consequences" of "heredity;" but it is a necessary failure so far as any well-framed statement of the "laws" and "causes" are concerned. It is a failure here, because to laws and causes in the matter science has not yet attained.

That child resembles parents to a very definite degree is, indeed, a law of all life, animal or vegetable. And this, in fact, furnishes basis for a definition of Life. The crystal, for instance, though produced by a formative power, is not the offspring of a parent and a line of ancestry. There are species, perpetuation, and laws of production; but there is no heredity. A living species is a successional secret society, a close corporation; and the secret conveyed adown the "true succession" is that certain *something* we call Life. By that *something* a formative power is possessed by which the offspring is hemmed within an outline form, out of which, in spite of Darwinism, we as yet believe no individual in the whole succession, unless a momentary monster, ever passes. And that is our doctrine of species.

Ribot easily shows that within the human species there are wonderful phenomena occurring of specially transmitted traits from ancestor to offspring. It is easily shown, for instance, that father and son are often wonderfully alike, and that whole families display family talents or disabilities. But the reverse fact is also equally patent. Whole families of children there are who resemble their parents and resemble each other no more than they resemble the average humanity around them. Take our line of Presidents, for example, and we shall find that, with the exception of the Adamses, every one is a true Melchisedec, the son of nobody and the father of nobody. We may fearlessly say, then, that thus far science has not caught the least glimpse of a law basing these uniformities and diversities.

Diseases of Women; their Causes, Prevention, and Radical Cure. By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, M.D., Author of "Paralysis and other Affections of the Nervea." Geo. Maclean.

Dr. Taylor is a man of science, and writes with vigor and clearness. His book and his system are indorsed by the highest authorities in the profession. He is author of a system of iron mechanical appliances suitable for many diseases of both sexes. But the present volume is written for the feebler sex, with the humane purpose of explaining to them the peculiar nature and causes of their sufferings, and describing those newly discovered mechanical methods which they are able to apply to themselves in the absence of the full apparatus and in their own homes. The volume is eminently worthy of a broad circulation among the myriads of sufferers for the relief of whose sorrows it is benevolently written.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Nature and Life. Facts and Doctrines Relating to the Constitution of Matter, the New Dynamics, and the Philosophy of Nature. By FERNAND PAPILLON. Translated from the Second French Edition, by A. R. MACDONOUGH, Esq. 12mo., pp. 363. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

Papillon is a Parisian physician and *savant*, and these essays were originally contributions to the "Revue des Deux Mondes." He is theistic in his views, if not Christian, and he commences with a protest against the divorce of philosophy from science, and the reduction of science to a mere experimentalism that denies all truth above the range of the five senses. He indignantly denounces the scientistic denunciation of metaphysics; and he denounces it not in the interest of morals but of science itself, whose best light and guide philosophy is. Most of his chapters analyze the relations of our various surrounding conditions to life; namely, the relations successively of light, of heat, of electricity, of odors, of animal grafts and regenerations, to life. The chapters are replete with interesting truths well told. But his fundamental purpose, not always kept in view, is to show how science is traveling toward the philosophy of Leibnitz, and to illustrate how that philosophy reconciles science with the great truths of spirit, immortality, and God. That philosophy is grounded in a fundamental view of *the essential constitution of matter.*

On the ultimate nature of matter we may notice three great theories: the Democritic, or *atomic* theory; the Berkleyan, or

idealistic; and the Leibnitzian, or *dynamic.* The first affirms that the minutest element of matter is a *sui generis* hard atom. A big piece of matter is "hard matter;" and the smallest piece is an infinitesimal item of same "hard matter." Though usually the theory on which atheism is based, this is the ordinary theory of the present day. The idealistic theory affirms that all objects are mind-created: they are the divine thoughts and the human thoughts objectified. The *dynamic* theory affirms that matter is *force*, compacted, solid *force.* Motion is the force-solid changing place; the atom is simply an infinitesimal *force-center.* But Leibnitz also holds that the *force-center* is a *vital-center*, and that all force is in a greater or less degree *living.* This force-center, inasmuch as it is sole and simple, Leibnitz calls (from the Greek *monos*, *alone* or *simple*) a *monad.* And perhaps the coming philosophical battle will be between the *atoms* and the *monads.* Science has heretofore stood on the side of the *atoms*, but is fast deserting over to the *monad* camp. Professor Youmans, a few years since, remarked that science is gradually coming to more spiritual views of matter. Professor Cooke, of Harvard, in his "New Chemistry," says that although he has been berated as a persistent atomist, yet he views the atomic theory as only a temporary staging, awaiting something better to come. Papillon thinks that "better" has lain in prophetic waiting for its future in the writings of Leibnitz, whose extraordinary intellect pointed the way in science for such men as Cuvier and Buffon, and clearly flung out anticipations which our present science is but verifying. Later than the present essays, Papillon has written an article entitled "Leibnitz, the Naturalist, Physiologist, and Physician," published in the "*Comptes rendus* of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, 1873."

The monads, then, the ultimate particles, or, rather, *points*, of which matter consists, are all vital forces. Our best-known type of force is our own vital will, and in this will of our own is the best representative for us of the vital monad force. The aggregates of monads form bodies, and it is by the collision of our will-force with the aggregated monad will-force, that external resistance, solidity, the so-called hard-matter, is revealed to us. And it is in the broadened collision of our perceptive power with these solid aggregates of force that our knowledge of external objects arises. There is simply an antagonism of forces. The grades of vitality in the monads are infinitely varied. The vitality of the lower forces is ordinarily sluggish and passive, but the ascending grades

level up toward, without ever reaching, the pure and perfect infinite Monad, "whose center is every-where and whose circumference is nowhere." Hence the distinction between mind and matter is rather formal than essential, like the distinction between water and ice, though usually with a far less definite dividing point. Matter is thickened and gross mind, and the two shade gradually into each other. Between the intellect of the grown man, the instinct of the infant, and the blinder instinct of the forming embryo, there are differences which are but ascending vital grades. And the instincts of the embryo at its various stages lie in the parts and particles that have a *knowing how*, without knowing it, to put themselves into the right place and make the right movements in order to the organization of the embryonic whole. And then we may trace downward to the vegetable instinct that catches flies and swallows and digests them, or that winds in tendrils around a pole. Thence descend we to the instinct of the particles forming into a crystal, to say nothing of the powerful attractions and repulsions, the elective preferences, the marriages and divorces according to strictest law, of the chemical forces.

All force, then, is vital force; attesting its origin from the infinite Life. In its totality, it is the great divine volition forming all things; in-forming all things; basing all things. And the dullest individual monad has an infinite idea, a secret sympathy toward all other monads, in it, by which it stands in its own place and lot in relation to all others. Even though not conscious of itself, nor truly roundly intelligent, it shoots out a ray of instinctive knowing its relations to other things, and knows exactly what to do in the panorama of which it is a part. Hence monads harmonize into organic forms. And there is a "pre-established harmony" of the whole system of the universe, which is capable of no explanation but by assuming the all-comprehending Harmonizer.

Modern science has shown that our BODIES are largely systems of spheroid cells. "There is no such thing as a vital knot, a central fire of life, in animals. Animal bodies are collections of an infinity of infinitely small living creatures, and each one of these microscopic living points is its own life-center for itself. Each on its own account grows, produces heat, and displays those characteristic activities which depend upon its structure. Each one, by virtue of a pre-established harmony, meets all the rest in the ways that they require."

And the SOUL is equally structural and composite. "The thinking soul, as Leibnitz holds, is a dominant monad, a solitary monad.

But, science seems not to authorize such an assertion. According to science, in its highest interpretation, the soul is a concurrent power of monads, all of them sentient and intelligent, but in different degrees, which accounts for the variations in degrees of feeling and of reason. In one living being there exists no monad expressing self, in another self is only very vaguely perceived, in another again it is conceived in its fullness. In one and the same living being the soul is evidently manifold, because it shows itself under distinct aspects, as affection, feeling, intellect, will. Thus, far from being single and indivisible, the soul consists of a combination of monads which are not all equally perfect, some being found occurring in the lowest animals, others being characteristic of man exclusively. An intricate system of primordial forces, a concordant action of energies without extension, expressing themselves in the anatomical elements of the gray matter of the brain. And radiating thence by its peculiar virtue into the infinity of things, the human soul is like Milton's gradually created lion, half lion and half mud, and still struggling, under the molding hand of the divine sculptor, to get free from chaos. Half spirit, half matter, our soul aspires to absolute purity: it is checked and fettered by the bonds of the body. The great mystery is to know how it releases itself from them when passing into eternity."

Next comes the solution of this problem of death and immortality. Let us suppose that our body, soul, and spirit are three organisms composed of monads of three generally different grades, which we may for ease of conception image as analogous to ice, water, and vapor, only less definitely distinct, and shading into each other. Brutes, consisting of body and soul, are dissolved into surrounding elements at death. In man, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, death is the ascending of the spirit, bearing the purest monads of soul with it, through the "vital ether," to the higher stratum of more pure and perfect monads.

We are not sure that all the above ideas will be found in either Leibnitz or Papillon; for we have endeavored to supplement the statements, which are somewhat incoherently made, so as to present it as a plausible whole. It may read as a philosophic dream, and yet it comes from one of the greatest human minds; it is singularly verified by the latest conclusions of science; and it claims to so interpret science as to nullify materialistic and atheistic conclusions. We are no longer puzzled with the intricate connections and mutual dependencies of matter and mind when we learn that the two are but purer and grosser forms of the same thing. If all force is

primordially *vital force*, we need not be frightened if Professor Barker completes his rather abortive demonstration of "the correlation of physical and vital forces." Vital forces are, then, the base of all the changes, the essential thread of the correlated series. And if all force is vital force, what is that primordial nebula, out of which planets are made, but our first dim perception of the divine volitions in creation? And the unknown, yet well known, Absolute, who belts and binds and bases the whole into unity, is no unintelligible Unintelligence, no infinite Idiocy, but an infinite wisdom and Will.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis: containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs, and Nimrod: Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods; from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, author of "History of Assurbanipal," "Assyrian Discoveries," etc., etc. With Illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

A little less than 700 years B. C. reigned Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. He was the Sardanapalus of the Greek historians, whose luxury and tragic end were celebrated in their records and dramatized in our day by the genius of Byron. But the remains show that his reign was an Augustan period in Assyrian literature; and it is his royal library, accumulated by himself and his predecessors at Nineveh, that George Smith has been pillaging for our edification in Assyrian and biblical lore. The leaves of this library were formed of fine clay, inscribed with a sharp bodkin while in a soft state, and then baked hard in a furnace. They have lain through centuries of conflagration, rain, chemical decomposition, and war-like pillage, and reappear in a very damaged condition. Fragments are successively found and conjecturally reset in place. The imperfect records deciphered and interpreted carry us back to the earliest period of our race. Yet they confess to being but copies of a Babylonian original, which is to be dated as far back as B. C. 2000, the age of Abraham. Thus the biblical history in its great outlines is traced back to the very spot where Moses indicates—to Babel, in the land of Shinar—where the first stand of the race was taken subsequent to the deluge.

Mr. Smith finds recorded upon the tablets in a style of rude poetry, somewhat akin to the rhythmic measure of the first chapter of Genesis, but with many fantastic and polytheistic variations and additions, the history of the creation, the fall, the deluge, the tower of Babel, and the reign of Nimrod. The Babylonian narrative of the creation is a blending of theogony with cosmogony; that is,

the generation of the gods from the primordial protoplasm is mixed up with the formation of the world. The family of Abraham, therefore, when they went out from this land of the Chaldees, either took a copy of the primitive history from which polytheism, with its extravagances, was carefully expurgated, or else adown the line, from, perhaps, Adam to Abraham, as genealogically given in Genesis, the pure record was traditionally retained, which polytheism varied and disfigured with her childish vagaries. We see nothing that contradicts the latter supposition.

The following passage is suggestive as to the nature of the Mosaic days:—

> The fragment of the first tablet of the Creation series showed that that was rather introductory, and dealt with the generation of the gods more than the creation of the universe, and the fact that the fifth tablet contains the Creation given in Genesis, under the fourth day, while a subsequent tablet, probably the seventh, gives the creation of the animals which, according to Genesis, took place on the sixth day, leads to the inference that the events of each of the days of Genesis were recorded on a separate tablet, and that the numbers of the tablets generally followed in the same order as the days of Creation in Genesis, thus:—
>
> GENESIS, CHAP. I.
>
> V. 1 & 2 agree with tablet 1.
> V. 3 to 5 1st day probably with tablet 2.
> V. 6 to 8 2d day probably with tablet 3.
> V. 9 to 13 3d day probably with tablet 4.
> V. 14 to 19 4th day agree with tablet 5.
> V. 20 to 23 5th day probably with tablet 6.
> V. 24 & 25 6th day probably with tablet 7.
> V. 26 and following, 6th and 7th day, probably with tablet 8.
>
> The tablet which I think to be the eighth appears to give the Creation and Fall of Man, and is followed by several other tablets giving apparently the war between the gods and the powers of evil; but all of these are very mutilated, and no number can be positively proved beyond the fifth tablet.—P. 72.

The following passages furnish an idea of the creation tablets:—

> The fifth tablet commences with the statement that the previous creations were "delightful," or satisfactory, agreeing with the oft-repeated statement of Genesis, after each act of creative power, that "God saw that it was good." The only difference here is one of detail. It appears that the Chaldean record contains the review and expression of satisfaction at the head of each tablet, while the Hebrew has it at the close of each act.
>
> We then come to the creation of the heavenly orbs, which are described in the inscription as arranged like animals, while the Bible says they were set as "lights in the firmament of heaven," and just as the book of Genesis says they were set for signs and seasons, for days and years, so the inscription describes that the stars were set in courses to point out the year. The twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac, and two other bands of constellations are mentioned, just as two sets of twelve stars each are mentioned by the Greeks, one north and one south of the zodiac. I have translated one of these names *nibir*, "wandering stars" or "planets," but this is not the usual word for planet, and there is a star called *Nibir* near the place where the sun crossed the boundary between the old and new years, and this was one of twelve supposed to be favorable to Babylonia. It is evident, from the opening of the inscription on the first tablet of the Chaldean astrology and astronomy, that the functions of the stars were according to the Babylonians to act

not only as regulators of the seasons and the year, but to be also used as signs, as in Genesis i, 14, for in those ages it was generally believed that the heavenly bodies gave, by their appearance and positions, signs of events which were coming on the earth.

The passage given in the eighth line of the inscription, to the effect that the God who created the stars fixed places or habitations for Bel and Hea with himself in the heavens, points to the fact that Anu, god of the heavens, was considered to be the creator of the heavenly hosts; for it is he who shares with Bel and Hea the divisions of the face of the sky.

The ninth line of the tablet opens a curious view as to the philosophical beliefs of the early Babylonians. They evidently considered that the world was drawn together out of the waters, and rested or reposed upon a vast abyss of chaotic ocean which filled the space below the world. This dark infernal lake was shut in by gigantic gates and strong fastenings, which prevented the floods from overwhelming the world. When the deity decided to create the moon, he is represented as drawing aside the gates of this abyss, and creating a whirling motion like boiling in the dark ocean below; then, at his bidding, from this turmoil, arose the moon like a giant bubble, and, passing through the open gates, mounted on its destined way across the vaults of heaven.

The Babylonian account continues with the regulation of the motions of the moon to overshadow the night, to regulate and give light until the dawn of day. The phases of the moon are described: its commencing as a thin crescent at the evening on the first day of the month, and its gradually increasing and traveling farther into the night. After the moon the creation of the sun is recorded, its beauty and perfection are extolled, and the regularity of its orbit, which led to its being considered the type of a judge, and the regulator of the world.

The Babylonian account of the Creation gives the creation of the moon before that of the sun, in reverse order to that in Genesis, and evidently the Babylonians considered the moon the principal body, while the Book of Genesis makes the sun the greater light. Here it is evident that Genesis is truer to nature than the Chaldean text. . . .

The next tablet, the seventh in the series, is probably represented by a curious fragment, which I first found in one of the trenches at Kouyunjik, and recognized at once as a part of the description of the Creation.

This fragment is like some of the others, the upper portion of a tablet much broken, and only valuable from its generally clear meaning. The translation of this fragment is:—

1. When the gods in their assembly had created ....
2. were delightful the strong monsters ....
3. they caused to be living creatures ....
4. cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field ....
5. they fixed for the living creatures ....
6. .... cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed ....
7. .... the assembly of the creeping things the whole which were created ....
8. .... which in the assembly of my family ....
9. .... and the god Nin-si-ku (the lord of noble face) caused to be two ....
10. .... the assembly of the creeping things he caused to go ....—Pp. 73–76.

The following account is given of the serpent:—

The fragmentary account of the Fall in the inscriptions mentions the dragon Tiamat, or the dragon of the sea, evidently in the same relation as the serpent, being concerned in bringing about the Fall. This dragon is called the dragon of Tiamat or the sea; it is generally conceived of as a griffin, and is connected with the original chaos, the Thalatth of Berosus, the female principle which, according to both the inscriptions and Berosus, existed before the creation of the universe. This was the original spirit of chaos and disorder, a spirit opposed in principle to the gods, and, according to the Babylonians, self-existent and eternal, older even than the gods, for the birth or separation of the deities out of this chaos was the first step in the creation of the world.—P. 87.

The tablet in regard to the Tower of Babel is rather obscure and doubtful. But Mr. Smith is increasingly confident that the Izdubar of the tablets is identical with Nimrod. The letters which he reads as *Izdubar* are of doubtful import, and he believes that farther developments will even identify its syllables with the name *Nimrod.*

In regard to the deluge we gave full extracts in a former Quarterly; but the following passage seems specially interesting:—

38. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and turned, and
39. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
40. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and
41. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
42. I sent forth a raven and it left.
43. The raven went, and the decrease of the water it saw, and
44. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.
45. I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation,
46. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
47. by seven herbs I cut,
48. at the bottom of them I placed reeds, pines, and simgar.
49. The gods collected at its savor, the gods collected at its good savor;
50. the gods like flies over the sacrifice gathered.

An Appeal to the Records in Vindication of the Policy and Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the South; from, and being a Reply to, the Erroneous and Strange Doctrines taught by E. H. Myers, D.D., of the M. E. Church, South, in his "Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church." By SQUIRE FULLER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 400. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

There had grown up in the minds and presses of the two Methodisms a tacit agreement of mutual amnesty, of fraternally letting "by-gones be by-gones." This "truce of God" was broken, not by us, not by Dr. Fuller, but by Dr. Myers's ill-omened book. It was in unjustifiable forgetfulness of this fact, namely, that we are but meeting aggression, that a Southern paper noticed our notice of his book with the shallow remark that, but for twelve disputatious men on each side, no quarrel would have followed after the passing of the *Plan of Separation.* The editor of our "Advocate" coolly quotes this shallowness with approval; a coolness all the more admirable from the fact that unquestionably the unanimous vote of the South would honor the editor's own name with the highest place on this list, as the St. Peter of this apostolic twelve. The shallowness of the remark consists partly in this, that it ignores the fact that the disruption of 1844 was but part of a great "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, by which one of these two incompatibilities must destroy the other. The tyrannical effort to force upon us a slave-holding bishop was but a part of the ge-

neric effort of the slave-power to suppress all freedom under itself, as well of the white as of the black, North as well as South. And this battle between slave-power and freedom was part of the great war between wrong and right, between darkness and light, between Satan and Messiah, that is going on in our world. And the resplendent victory of right in this our antislavery battle is omen and symbol of the final victory, in which the Son of God shall bind Satan in chains and send him to hell. It is a sad thing for a good man to be on the night-side of this great antithesis. When he so finds himself, he should humble himself and change sides. To Dr. Myers, and every good man like circumstanced, therefore, we commend, not desperate defense of their iniquity, but penitence, silence, and sackcloth.

We have more than once warned our Southern brethren that, if they attempt to come to us with a bill of indictments, we could give them one worth a dozen of it. Our indictment against them is, not that they merely submitted to slavery as imposed by the slave-power, including the human auction block, the slave-whip, the penalty upon negro education, the nullification of the marriage contract, and the keeping of blood-hounds to chase the fleeing slave. It is that, after accepting slavery, they proclaimed its perpetuity and thus became unequivocally *pro-slavery;* that after proclaiming its perpetuity they proceeded with the desperate energy of years of strife to *force that despotism upon us of the North*, and so became its cruel propagandists. Senator Toombs proclaimed that he would yet call his slave-roll at the foot of Bunker Hill, and they cheered him and his co-conspirators onward. And there was an apparently easy and rapid route to that result. The same servile court that decided our property suit, and so is such a pet with Dr. M., and that gave the Dred Scott decision, was ready, but for the rising of national opposition, to give the third turn of the judicial screw, and decide that, slaves being property, no State laws could constitutionally abolish the slave-owner's claim to his chattel; and that would have made us a slave States, and the slave-power would have been lord of the nation. At this consummation, through many a year of corruption, compromise-breaking, fillibuster, and war, slaveholders aimed. They meant that the day should come when the slave-gang should be driven from the Battery up Broadway, while we, with lips pale and silent, should gaze on the scene more deeply enslaved than the fettered negro. The action of Southern Methodism in crushing down our churchly antislavery legislation, in forcing upon us a slave-holding bishop, in forming a Southern Church, and then try

ing to extend that Church over the entire North, were all part of the same great diabolic conspiracy. From the time of the first mobbing of Bishop Coke for his antislaveryism down to the issue of Dr. Myers's accusatory book, Southern Methodism has, in her place, played second fiddle to the music of the slave-power, and furnished us a century of counts of indictment upon her course.

All these aggressions we wished to forget until we were told that such oblivion is "a farce," and old antecedents must be retraced. It seems not to have been dreamed by some Southern brethren that that was a game for two, in which the challenger might meet ignominious defeat. It seems to have been by them expected that it would be the part of Southrondom to read off its list of charges, and our part to sit and listen in silence and penitence. Dr. Fuller's timely publication, with its mastery of facts, its thorough analysis, and its fearless exposures, will amply convince perhaps even their persistent self-conceit that silence would have been wisdom. Every member of our next General Conference should carefully examine this book. Nor has it merely an ephemeral value. Like Elliott's "Great Secession," it is a repository of facts which needed careful storing for future discussion and history. The violence of the discussion will not, indeed, last another generation. When the unfortunate Bourbons who committed themselves to the slave-power and still adhere in sheer obstinacy to worshiping its ghost shall have disappeared, a later generation will be ashamed of their fathers' folly. How infinitely more honorable in history would the fame of Summers and Myers appear if, instead of their dogged adherence to the putrid corpse of dead slavery, they would acknowledge their great moral mistake, recognize the penal hand of Justice in the destruction of the slave-power, proclaim that the cause of freedom was the cause of truth and righteousness, and lead the age in doing right by the colored race. It is sad to be on the night-side of history; and the more obstinate their impenitence, the deeper the night-shade in which they are enshrouded.

For any offenses imputed to us by Southern Methodism we ask no forgiveness. For the many offenses by her committed against us she need ask no forgiveness of ours. "Let by-gones be by-gones." We impose no conditions, and we accept no conditions. We do not concur in their views of the past; we do not ask them to concur with ours. If the Church South brings a prescribed condition of fraternity we trust our General Conference will fully *accept the fraternity*, but reserve the so-called condition as a distinct and independent matter for separate consideration.

The Thrones and Palaces of Babylon and Nineveh from Sea to Sea: a Thousand Miles on Horseback. By JOHN P. NEWMAN, D.D., Member of the London Society of Biblical Archæology. 8vo., pp. 455. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Dr. Newman was clearly right, we think, in assuming that of the great circle around the globe, no arc is more interesting than the line from Bombay to Iskenderoon. We might even shorten this line by clipping from each end. No spot on the surface of the globe possesses so thrilling an interest for the soul as the great square lying amid the four most ancient seas, cut by the Tigris and Euphrates. Here was the cradle of the human race, the beginning of history; here the Deluge, and Babel, and Babylon. The latest excavations and decypherments are gathering special interest to this area at the present time; and it has been to us a rich enjoyment to travel in imagination all the way with our friend, and see with his eyes and sympathize with his emotions amid these primeval scenes.

Starting from Bombay, he passes through Oman's dark sea, where Thomas Moore so mournfully buried his Araby's daughter. He draws a zigzag line through the Persian Gulf. He ascends the ancient river to where the Euphrates and Tigris fork off, and finds the true Eden in the fork. It is still surpassingly Edenic; an engraving presenting its picture in an idealizing haze forms the frontispiece, and he announces the unique fact that so well adjusted at this place is the apparatus that he could *send a telegram from the garden of Eden to any part of the civilized world!* He ascends the Tigris by steam. Bagdad, Babel, Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Nineveh are taken into his route and form topics of magnificent chapters. Readers to whom the cuneiform writing and the received records of the flood are inaccessible, will find them here pleasantly unfolded. Ascending northward and eastward, he comes across the tracks of Xenophon and his immortal ten thousand. He finds Abram's Ur in Orfah, and Job's Uz in Uznaoor. Looking down on the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, he feels the same rapture as thrilled the hearts of Xenophon's men when, from a mountain descrying the same sight, they shouted *thalatta! thalatta!*—the sea! the sea!—and felt, like him, as if they had got home. We may, at the close of the journey, appropriate what Cowper said of a more celebrated, but far briefer, expedition:—

> "And Newman, long live he;
> And when he next goes forth to ride
> May I be there to see."

Literature.

Dedication and Inauguration of the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In this grand inauguration of the Vanderbilt University, founded in Nashville by Cornelius Vanderbilt's donations, there were sermons or addresses by Bishops Doggett, Wightman, and McTyeire, by Governor Porter, by Doctors Deems and Lipscomb, Chancellor Garland, and Dr. Summers. These exercises are all of a high order, and the Vanderbilt commences a noble history, as we trust, on a lofty key. We notice with pleasure a recognition of Vanderbilt's donations as a token of kindly feeling between the two sections. There is no true northerner who does not rejoice at the direction and munificence of Vanderbilt's gifts. Success to the great enterprise!

We are specially interested in the theological announcements of Dr. Summers as professor in the Divinity department. In firm disregard of the modern disparagement of creeds, he declares his standards in no equivocal tone. The Twenty-five Articles, the three Creeds, (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian,) and the Catechism, (by Richard Watson,) are his canons. We hesitate as to the Athanasian Creed, as even Dr. S. excepts to its damnatory clauses. We can hardly consent to be laden with a creed which is so late in the Church's history, and which both the Protestant Episcopal Church and Wesley dropped out. We understand the Protestant Episcopal Church to offer communion with any denomination that accepts the three successional orders and the *two* primitive creeds.

Satan Chained. A Poem. By Professor N. Dunn, A. M., formerly Instructor in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in Wilbraham Academy, Mass., afterward Principal of Hempstead Seminary, L. I., and latterly Lecturer in Rutgers' Female College, in the City of New York. 12mo., pp. 313. New York: Published by subscription, and for the benefit of the Author. 1875.

It is a heroic attempt, in these days, to construct a poem which tempts comparison with Milton, and essays to trace the reparation of the ruin which Milton pictures. We cannot say that the writer equals Milton, but we can conscientiously say we think him scarce inferior to Pollok.

Miscellaneous.

Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Virginia, 1875. Part II. Expository.

This Report furnishes a very encouraging view of the progress of education, both of the white and colored populations. The great advantage of *public* schools is shown. Model school-houses are presented and discussed, and the true policy of sustaining the school system is ably expounded. It is by this route alone that venerable Virginia can attain to a higher than her old prosperity. Every Christian and patriot in the North wishes her triumphant success.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost, according to the Teaching of Scripture. By JOHN MORGAN, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Oberlin Theological Seminary. With an Introduction by Rev. C. G. Finney, late President of Oberlin College. 16mo., pp. 173. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich.

The Footprints of the Creator; or, The Asterolepsis of Stromness. By HUGH MILLER. With a Memoir of the Author by Louis Agassiz. 12mo., pp. 337. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearings on the two Theologies, Natural and Revealed. By HUGH MILLER, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "Footprints of the Creator," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 502. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The Mind and Words of Jesus; Faithful Promiser; and Morning and Night Watches. By Rev. J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 16mo., pp. 126. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

The Story of the Apostles; or, The Acts explained to Children. By the author of "Peep of Day," etc. 12mo., pp. 226. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

In the Vineyard. A Plea for Christian Work. By Rev. E. F. BURR, D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc., and Lecturer on the Scientific Evidences of Religion in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 454. New York: T. Y. Crowell.

Encyclopædia Biblical. Vol. VI. Me—Ner. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Bible Word-Book. A Glossary of Scripture Terms which have changed their Popular Meaning, or are no longer in General Use. By WILLIAM SWINTON, author of "Harpers' Language Series," "Word-Book," "Word Analysis," etc. Edited by Prof. T. G. Conant, D.D. 16mo., pp. 106. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

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SUNDAY-SCHOOL METHODS.

The article on "Modern Sunday-school Methods" we have admitted as being written by an expert; and were there time for an answer to it by another expert before the next General Conference, we should leave it without remark. Though personally disqualified from close personal examination, we feel bound, as it is, to express our dissent from nearly all its positions.

To the best of our powers of observing, an epoch of scripture study *has been produced* by the "methods" such as has never before existed in the Church, and that is "success." It may be far below an ideal standard, and below the standard by these methods yet attainable; but it seems to us to be far above any actual standard that has ever heretofore been reached. More scripture commentators are called into action, more commentary volumes are demanded by the market, and plainly more scripture study and positive scripture knowledge exist, than, so far as we know, at any former period.

As to the methods, we look upon them as the methods we should use, to a great degree, in secular instruction. To us, as a secular teacher of old standing, the man who would propose to abolish the use of blackboard, pictorial illustration, and maps, would be little likely to obtain an extended hearing. At the present day histories, travels, geographies, treatises on science, and commentaries are going forth with ever-increasing amounts of cuts and maps. These produce immediate *knowledge* in the mind which no words can. They do this by creating a new interest and attention in the mind, by impressing the memory with a more realistic notion of actual things, and thus inducing a true method of thought and study. And against the supposition that in teaching to *children* that book which is itself history, travels, science, and all, we are to abandon these methods, we enter our *caveat.*

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